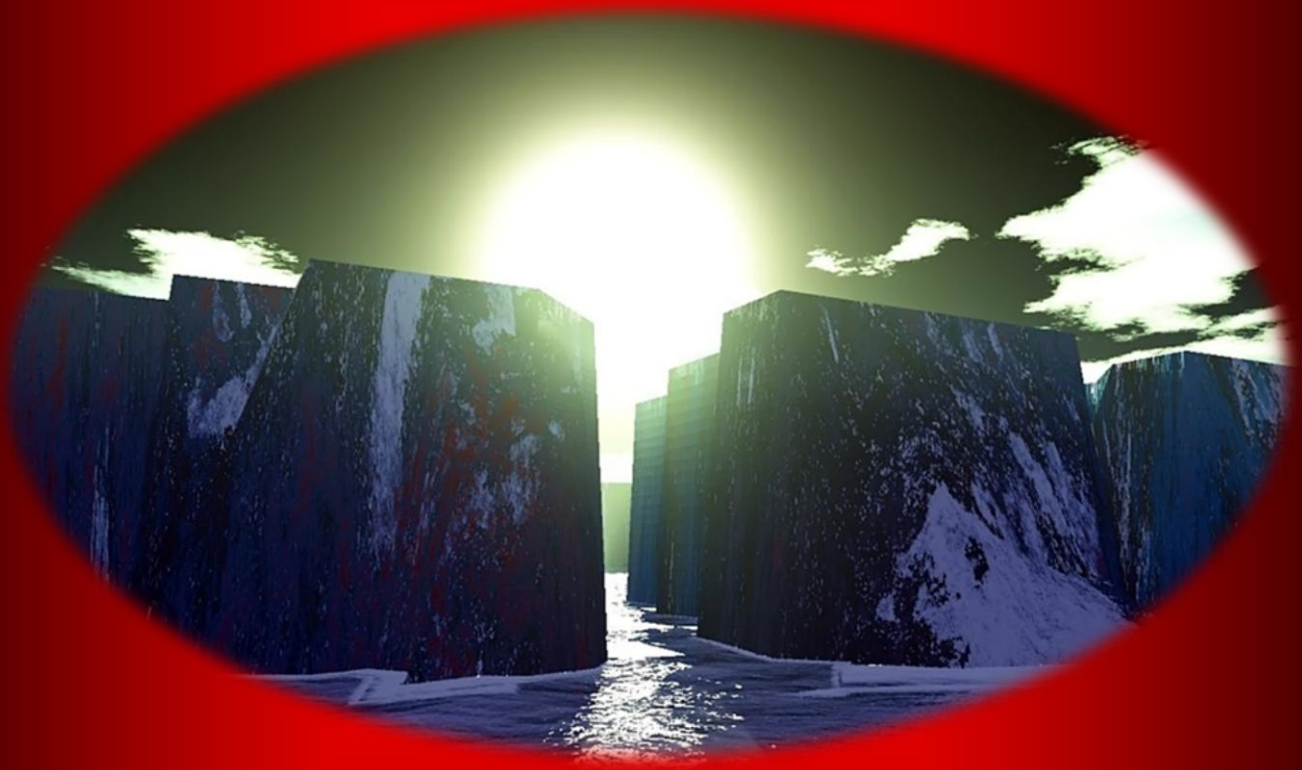
Adrienn Jánosi

Long Split Focus Constructions in Hungarian

with a view on speaker variation



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LONG SPLIT FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS IN HUNGARIAN

WITH A VIEW ON SPEAKER VARIATION

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To my family, Katalin, Zoltán and Edit

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Abbreviations, symbols and formats used in this thesis

/	rising intonation on the phrase following it
ALLAT	allative case
bold	boldface marks elements relevant for the discussion (in examples)
CAPITALS	syntactically focused constituent (in examples)
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
ACC	accusative
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
ANP	noun phrase premodified by a single, underived adjective
AspP	aspect phrase
Cond	conditional
DAT	dative
def	definite verb form
dem	demonstrative
dir	direction
DistQP	distributive quantifier phrase
DP	determiner phrase
EA	expletive – associate construction
expl	expletive pronoun
FocP	focus phrase
GEN	genitive
indef	indefinite verb form
Inf	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
LF	Logical Form
loc	locative
LSF	long split focus construction
LUF	long unsplit focus construction
NOM	nominative
NomP	nominal phrase (a cover term for NP, NumP and DP)
NumP	number phrase
NP	noun phrase
Obj	object
OBL	oblique (collective term for cases different from NOM and ACC)
past	past tense
PL	plural
Poss	possessive
Pred	predicate
PredP	predicate phrase
PRT	particle
PV	preverb/verbal prefix/verb modifier
refl	reflexive
res.pro	resumptive pronoun
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TopP	topic phrase
VP	verb phrase

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 LONG FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS: THE SCOPE OF THIS RESEARCH

Long focus constructions are syntactic structures in which material from the embedded clause surfaces in the focus position of the matrix clause. This material can be a constituent (cf. *fekete macskát* 'black cat' in (1)) or a subpart of a constituent (cf. *macskát* 'cat' (2)).

(1) **FEKETE** **MACSKÁT** mondott Mari hogy látott.
black cat.ACC said.3SG Mary that saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a BLACK CAT.'

Example (1) instantiates a long 'unsplit' focus construction, henceforth LUF, as it involves the focusing of a phrase in the matrix clause that has not been split up. This construction has received ample attention in the generative literature on Hungarian (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998, Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010, just to mention a few).

(2) **MACSKÁT** mondott Mari hogy **feketét** látott.
cat.ACC said.3SG Mary that black.ACC saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a black CAT.'

Example (2), on the other hand, illustrates a long 'split' focus construction, henceforth LSF, in which focusing in the matrix clause seems to affect only a portion of an NP.[1] LSF, and, more generally, split noun phrase constructions have not been systematically described and analyzed in the generative literature on Hungarian.[2,3] This construction is the topic of the present dissertation.[4]

Long focus constructions are non-standard structures used in informal spoken and written language. Their standard Hungarian counterpart is arguably the expletive-associate construction, henceforth EA, in which an expletive element in the matrix clause introduces an argument clause

[1] I discuss the case-marking of the adjective in LSF in detail in Chapter 3.

[2] The existence of split noun phrase constructions is a well-known fact about Hungarian, despite the fact that it has not been looked into so far. Szabolcsi (1986) mentions possible occurrences of split NPs in Hungarian, some of which she associates with left-dislocation and others with focalization. However, she does not provide an analysis of split NP constructions. Giurgea (2006) lists Hungarian among those languages that allow split NP topicalization. However, he does not account for the characteristics of this construction in Hungarian. The general properties of split NP constructions will be described in Chapter 3.

[3] Capitals are used to mark syntactically focused elements in this thesis (e.g. *fekete macskát* 'black cat' in (1) and *macskát* 'cat' in (2)). Boldfacing is used to highlight elements that are relevant for the discussion (e.g. the adjective *feketét* 'black.ACC' in (2) is relevant for the discussion of LSF in that a subpart of the constituent *fekete macskát* 'black cat.ACC' (cf. (1)) shows up in the embedded clause). Words in italicized capitals (e.g. '*BLACK CAT*' in the gloss of (1) and '*CAT*' in the gloss of (2)) receive a focus interpretation (cf. 2.3.2.3).

[4] The displacement of *fekete macskát* 'black cat' in (1) and *macskát* 'cat' in (2) from the embedded clause into the matrix focus position will often be called 'long focusing' in this dissertation. This term might lead one to a particular analysis (i.e. one involving movement). However, I am using it in a strictly descriptive sense here and I postpone the discussion of the actual analysis until Chapter 8. The terms 'subpart of a constituent' and 'phrase portion' are also used in a purely descriptive sense up to the point in this dissertation where a syntactic analysis of the facts is mentioned or given, that is, Chapter 8 (where the constituent – subconstituent distinction becomes relevant). It will always be made clear when these terms are used in a technical sense.

(cf. (3) and see É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998, Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010 in connection with LUF).

(3) (Azt) mondta Mari, hogy fekete macskát látott.
expl.ACC said.3SG Mary that black cat.ACC saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a black cat.'

In (3) an optional, semantically empty expletive (i.e. *azt* 'that') represents the clausal argument (in (3) a direct object) in the matrix clause. In long focus constructions (i.e. in LUF, (4) and LSF, (5)) on the other hand, the clausal expletive cannot surface.

(4) <*Azt> **FEKETE** **MACSKÁT** <*azt> mondott Mari hogy látott.
expl.ACC black cat.ACC expl.ACC said.3SG Mary that saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a BLACK CAT.'

(5) <*Azt> **MACSKÁT** <*azt> mondott Mari hogy **feketét** látott.
expl.ACC cat.ACC expl.ACC said.3SG Mary that black.ACC saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a black CAT.'

Intuitively, and also as argued in previous works on LUF (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998), the long-focused constituent occupies the position of the clausal expletive, which, therefore, cannot show up.[5] The above mentioned works derive LUF by long-distance movement while other, more recent ones argue for a double derivation of the long-focused phrase, i.e. one involving both long-distance movement and base-generation (cf. Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010). In this dissertation I claim that both LUF and LSF come in two main types: in the 'matrix case' types the long-focused nominal bears the case assigned to it

[5] Following Brody (1995) I regard what is traditionally called 'long-distance wh-movement' (cf. (i)) as an instance of LUF in which the long-focused NP is a wh-phrase, as the distinction wh-phrase versus non-wh-phrase does not play any role in my analysis. What is relevant for my account is that both wh-phrases in long-distance wh-movement and long-focused non-wh-phrases occupy the syntactic focus position in the matrix clause (see also 2.3.2.3**Error! Reference source not found.**).

(i) **MILYEN** **MACSKÁT** mondott hogy látott?
what.kind.of cat.ACC said.3SG that saw.3SG
'What kind of cat did she say she had seen?'

Moreover, long-distance wh-movement is also a non-standard construction, the standard variant of which, 'partial wh-movement', as it is often called in the literature (cf. Horváth 1995, 1997), illustrated in (ii)) involves a semantically empty expletive element (i.e. *mit* 'what' in (ii)).

(ii) **MIT** mondott hogy **MILYEN** **MACSKÁT** látott?
what.ACC said.3SG that what.kind.of cat.ACC saw.3SG
'What kind of cat did she say she had seen?'

The expletive present in the partial wh-movement construction is not compatible with the long-distance wh-movement construction (cf. (iii)).

(iii) **<*MIT>** **MILYEN** **MACSKÁT** **<*MIT>** mondott hogy látott?
what.ACC what.kind.of cat.ACC what.ACC said.3SG that saw.3SG
'What kind of cat did she say she had seen?'

In other words, we find the same relation between (ii) and (iii) as between (3) and (4).

by the matrix verb (cf. (6) for LSF and (7) for LUF).[6] In the 'embedded case' types the long-focused nominal bears the case assigned to it in the embedded clause (cf. (8) for LSF and (9) for LUF).[7]

(6) **AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újat** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG that new.ACC receive.3SG
'(S)he expected to receive a new CAR.'

(7) **ÚJ** **AUTÓRA** számított hogy kap.
new car.ONTO counted.3SG that receive.3SG
'(S)he expected to receive a NEW CAR.'

(8) **AUTÓVAL** mondta hogy **újjal** dicsekedett.
car.INSTR said.3SG that new.INSTR boasted.3SG
'(S)he said that (s)he had boasted of a new CAR.'

(9) **ÚJ** **AUTÓVAL** mondta hogy dicsekedett.
new car.INSTR said.3SG that boasted.3SG
'(S)he said that (s)he had boasted of a NEW CAR.'

I propose that LSF should receive a double (base-generation and movement) analysis in the vein of Den Dikken's (2010) analysis of LUF. This analysis is supported by the results of two questionnaires I carried out during my research on LSF.

In this thesis I address the following main issues:

(i) How many different types of LSF are there?
(ii) What is the derivation of the different types?
(iii) Do LSF and LUF share the same derivation?
(iv) What is the nature of speaker variation with respect to LSF?

This dissertation contributes to the research on long focus constructions by adding new empirical data (i.e. long *split* focus constructions) and an analysis that carries over to long *unsplit*

[6] Note that the matrix verb *számít* 'count on' takes a complement in the allative case (cf. (i)) and the embedded verb *kap* 'receive' takes a complement in the accusative (cf. (ii)).

(i) Péter **egy** **autóra** számított.
Peter a car.ONTO counted.3SG
'Peter counted on a car.'

(ii) Péter **egy** **autót** kapott.
Peter a car.ACC received.3SG
'Peter received a car.'

[7] Note that the matrix verb *mond* 'say' takes a complement in the accusative case (cf. (i)) while the embedded verb takes a complement in the instrumental case (cf. (ii)).

(i) Péter mondott nekünk **egy** **jó** **hírt**.
Peter said.3SG DAT.1PL a good news.ACC
'Peter told us a piece of good news.'

(ii) Péter **az** **autójával** dicsekedett.
Peter the car.Poss.SG.INSTR boasted.3SG
'Peter boasted of his car.'

focus constructions. Although the dissertation primarily focuses on LSF, it also contains new data and theoretical implications concerning LUF.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized as follows. After *Chapter 1* has introduced some basic facts about LSF and the primary issues that will be addressed in the context of long focus constructions, each of the subsequent chapters discusses a topic that brings us closer to the analysis of LSF.

Chapter 2 first briefly situates Hungarian among the languages of the world and it discusses some properties of word order characteristic of discourse-configurational languages. Then it presents a basic overview of the structure of the simple clause in Hungarian. Finally, it provides some insight into three issues that return in later chapters, namely the structure of nominal phrases, object definiteness agreement and the structure of EA in Hungarian.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the discussion of split nominal phrase constructions, one of which is LSF. This chapter situates LSF in a group of related structures defined by the presence of a split nominal phrase (i.e. short-distance/long-distance split topicalization and short-distance/long-distance split focalization). LSF is singled out as it is the central topic of this thesis and its distinctive characteristics are summarized in the context of other split nominal phrase constructions.

Chapter 4 compares LSF to its close relative, LUF and juxtaposes the syntactic characteristics of LSF and LUF in a systematic way. This chapter is based on the informal testing of informants living in North-Eastern Hungary. The chapter ends with the conclusion that LSF and LUF come in the same two types and that these two types share the same syntactic characteristics.

Chapter 5 outlines some of the most influential analyses of LUF. These include long-distance movement, base-generation and so-called double (i.e. long-distance movement and base-generation) analyses. This chapter serves as background to my analysis of LSF. The analyses presented in this chapter do not extend to each empirical detail about LUF introduced in Chapter 4 as some of the data presented there has not been described in the existing literature on LUF.

Chapter 6 introduces some prerequisites for the analysis and outlines the analysis of LSF based on the data introduced in Chapter 4. I propose that the underlying structure of long focus constructions, i.e. EA comes in two types: in one type the 'matrix expletive' is base-generated in the matrix clause while in the other it is base-generated in the embedded clause. I draw a parallel between the base-generation sites of the clausal expletive in EA and in LSF. Based on this I claim that LSF can be divided into a base-generation type and a movement type. I argue that the base-generation type of LSF is derived by base-generating the two NP portions in their respective clause. The link between the two NP portions is established by concord, a type of A'-dependency introduced in the generative theory by Den Dikken (2010) for LUF. On the other hand, I claim that the movement type of LSF is derived via long-distance movement of the long-focused NP (cf. Den Dikken 2010, Ott 2012).

Chapter 7 reports the findings of two questionnaires. The primary aim of both questionnaires was to test the preliminary analysis formulated in chapter 6. Questionnaire 1 involved 83 speakers and used the 5-point scale method while questionnaire 2 was filled out by 88 informants and applied the magnitude estimation method. Both questionnaires are briefly described in the main text and a detailed description of both of them can be found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, respectively. The findings support the double (i.e. base-generation and long-distance movement) analysis of LSF outlined in Chapter 6. A section of Chapter 7 is devoted to the discussion of

speaker variation as it affects both LSF and LUF (cf. Gervain 2002, 2009, Gervain & Zemplén 2005). Both of my questionnaires show a lack of systematic speaker variation.

Chapter 8 provides a detailed analysis of both the base-generation and the movement type of LSF. It considers the results of questionnaire 1 and questionnaire 2 and it incorporates several elements of previous analyses of LUF. It is claimed here that the main syntactic difference between the base-generation and movement type of LSF can be traced back to two possible base-generation sites of the clausal expletive that is always present in the structure. It is shown that this analysis can carry over to LUF, the difference being that unlike in LSF, in LUF a full NP is moved to the matrix focus position from the embedded clause.

Chapter 9 summarizes the main claims of this dissertation and discusses some directions for future research.

2 PRELIMINARIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is meant to provide some background for a reader not familiar with the structure of Hungarian. It attempts to give a factual, albeit non-comprehensive, overview of certain syntactic characteristics of Hungarian that are relevant for the topic of this dissertation.

The chapter consists of five main sections. The first one, section 2.2, is a general introduction into the Hungarian language. It briefly discusses its origin and its genetic and typological classification. Each of the subsequent four sections focuses on a specific issue of present-day Hungarian grammar that will become relevant in my discussion of LSF, the central topic of this dissertation. More specifically, section 2.3 surveys the left periphery of the clause: it investigates word order rules (section 2.3.1) and describes the projections of the preverbal domain (section 2.3.2). Section 2.4 introduces the basic syntax and semantics of nominal phrases in Hungarian. Finally, section 2.5 gives an overview of the main aspects of object definiteness agreement in Hungarian.

2.2 FACTS AND FIGURES

Hungarian is spoken by around 10 million native speakers in Hungary and by around an additional 3 million bilinguals in neighbouring countries.[8,9] In its present environment it is closely surrounded by Slavic (Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovene), Romance (Romanian) and Germanic languages (Austrian German) but it is genetically distinct from these and other Indo-European languages that make up the majority of languages spoken in Europe.
According to recent leading views, Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language (cf. Jászó 1991, Fodor 2004). As such, it is member of the small Uralic language family, which does not belong to the ten most representative language families of the world that cover approximately 96,4 percent of the world's population.[10]

The genetic classification of the Uralic languages date back to the 18th century (Jászó 1991). At the end of the 18th century, based on János Sajnovics's comparative linguistic research a few decades before, Sámuel Gyarmathi analyzed a wide range of Uralic languages that led to three major discoveries: he found that (1) Hungarian is most closely related to Khanti and Mansi (these three languages form one of the Ugric subfamilies, cf. figure 1), (2) the Ugric languages have a large number of common linguistic characteristics with the Finnic family, and (3) both the Ugric and the Finnic families are structurally and lexically similar to the Samoyedic languages (Ruhlen 1987: 66-67). This classification is still largely believed to be valid.

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[8] The Hungarian population on 1st January 2004 aggregated 10.117.000 (Filip 2005).

[9] This is due to the Treaty of Trianon (1920) following the first World War that disannexed 189,000 km^2 (more than two-thirds) of Hungary's territory with 3.2 million Hungarians living in those regions (Filip 2005). Today the number of bilingual Hungarians is estimated to be over 3 million in the Carpathian basin distributed over Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria (Kocsis – Kocsisné 1995). In total, Hungarian is the mother tongue or one of the mother tongues of approximately 15 million people in the world (Fodor 2004: 30).

[10] These data are based on the number of speakers. The three largest language families are the Indo-European, the Sino-Tibetan and the Niger-Congo family extending over 44,78%, 22,28% and 6,26% of the world's population, respectively (Gordon 2005).

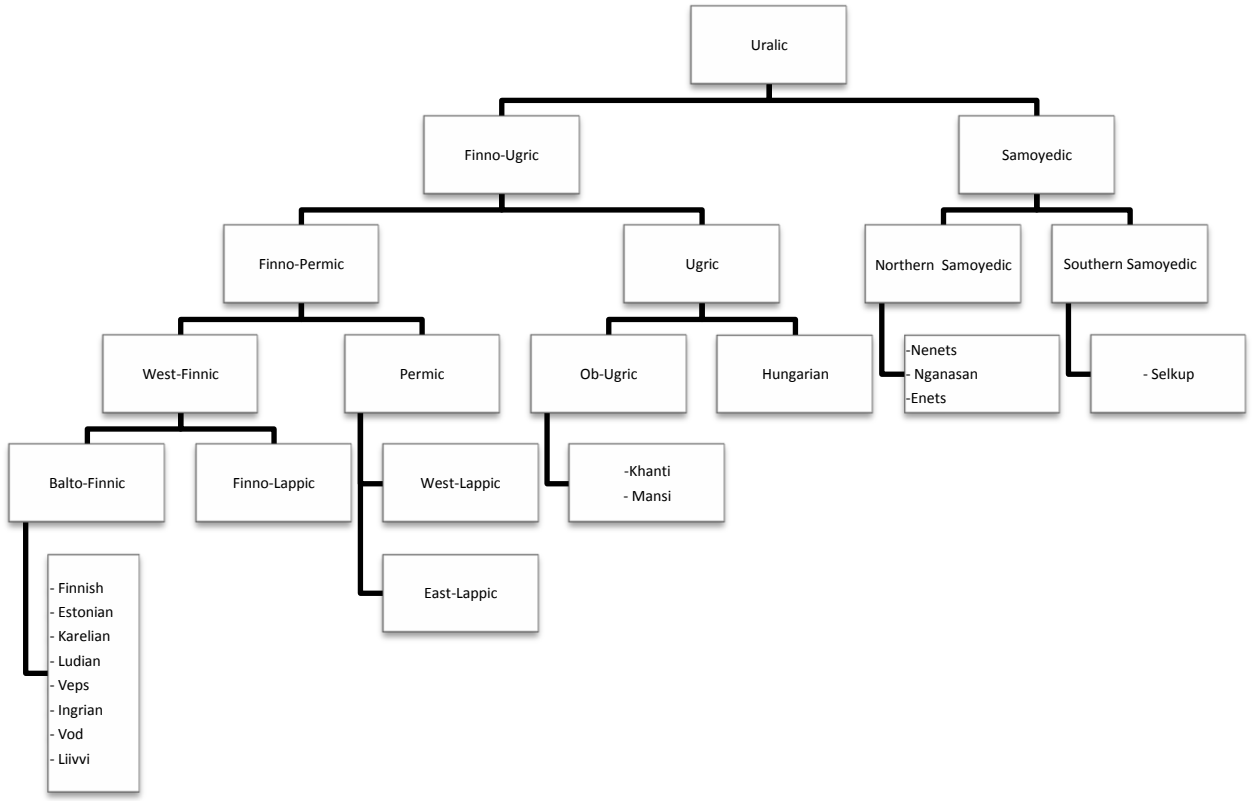


Figure 1. The Uralic language family[11]

The most widely spoken present-day relatives of Hungarian are Finnish and Estonian, both members of the Finno-Permic branch, while Hungarian belongs to the Ugric branch of the family tree. The rest of the Uralic languages are either extinct or endangered (Fodor 2004).[12]

Until the end of the 19th century, however, the Uralic language family was considered to be part of the Uralic-Altaic language family (i.e. the family Turkic is related to) and this theory has not been completely discarded (cf. Fodor 2004). In the past few decades a number of linguists (Csőke 1969, Marácz 2008, Marcantonio 2002, Tóth 2007) have questioned the Finno-Ugric origin of Hungarian, arguing that it has not been confirmed by archaeological findings. On the other hand, scholars studying the relation between Hungarian and the Turkic languages from the middle of the 19th century on (e.g. Ignác Kúnos, Gyula Németh, Lajos Ligeti, Lajos Fekete, László Rásonyi, cf. Fodor 2004) came to a different conclusion. They claim that although Turkic had a strong influence on Hungarian through language contact, the two languages are genetically distinct (Fodor 2004). [13] Debates about the origin of Hungarian have often reflected the then current political situation. In the 19th century, for example, Hungarian intellectuals were attracted to the belief that their closest relatives were the prestigious Turkic tribes living in the East and

[11] This is a simplified version of a more detailed classification of Fodor (1995) and Jászó (1991).

[12] There are approximately 5.170.000 native speakers of Finnish worldwide and approximately 1.170.000 native speakers of Estonian (Fodor 2004).

[13] According to this theory Turkic loan words came into Hungarian in two main waves: one before the settlement of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin (896 AD.) and one during the Turkish occupation of Hungary (1526-1686) (Jászó 1991). Turkic loan words from the first wave are claimed to be cognates in theories arguing for the Turkic origin of the Hungarian language.

did not welcome the idea of being related to Finno-Ugric people. As a result, they were against the exploration of the initial findings of Sajnovics and Gyarmathi (Ruhlen 1987: 66-67).

All things considered and contrary to the above mentioned debates it is still the most widely held view that Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family, which is genetically not associated with the Turkic languages. The genetic relation between the two biggest representatives of the Finno-Ugric language family today (i.e. Finnish and Hungarian) is nevertheless far from conspicuous at first sight. This is often explained by the early split of the Uralic proto language into three main sub-branches (i.e. Finnic, Ugric and Samoyedic) in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Fodor 2004). Hungarian is claimed to have emerged as a separate language among the Finno-Ugric languages by around 500 B.C. (Keresztes 1995).

As for its typological classification, present-day Hungarian is an agglutinative language, just like the Uralic proto-language according to language reconstruction (cf. Fodor 2004). Interestingly, as Fodor (2004) points out, the typological classification of none of the modern languages of the Uralic family has changed over time.

Although the generative tradition considers Hungarian to be a syntactically homogenous language (e.g. É. Kiss 2002), works on long focus constructions commonly mention or display data discrepancies (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998, Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010 regarding LUF constructions). The existence of descriptive works on dialectal syntactic variation in Hungarian (e.g. Szabó 1986) together with the emergence of theoretical works explicitly addressing it (e.g. Gervain 2002, 2009, Gervain & Zemplén 2005 on LUF constructions) suggest that variation is actually present in various fields of Hungarian syntax. Accordingly, speaker variation concerning long focus constructions will be addressed in this dissertation, too.

2.3 THE LEFT PERIPHERY IN HUNGARIAN

2.3.1 WORD ORDER IN HUNGARIAN

Hungarian is considered to be a discourse-configurational language (e.g. É. Kiss (1987)). In other words, word order in Hungarian sentences is based on the discourse function of their constituents and not on their grammatical function. In this section the main discussion is based on É. Kiss (2002), which provides a general introduction into the central issues and debates surrounding the syntactic characteristics of Hungarian. First I present and discuss the topic – predicate articulation of the Hungarian sentence. Then I show two tests that are used to identify the topic – predicate boundary. This distinction is important as the left periphery of the predicate (i.e. the preverbal domain) hosts sentence constituents in a strictly fixed order while topics, if more than one of them occurs in a clause, can be freely ordered. The second half of the section describes the fixed word order of the preverbal domain in formal terms.

The two main constituents of categorical sentences in Hungarian are the topic and the predicate (cf. (1)B).[14] The topic must precede the predicate. Within the predicate the order of the

[14] I adopt Kuno's (1972) view that categorical sentences answer a question about an individual or individuals, see e.g. (i)B while thetic sentences answer the question *'What happened'* like (ii)B.

(i) A: Mit csinál Géza?
'What is Géza doing?'
B: Géza eteti a macskát.
Géza feed.3SG the cat.ACC
'Géza is feeding the cat.'

main sentence constituents is fixed in preverbal position, as will become clear below. In the post-verbal domain word order is free.

Example (1)B shows a typical instantiation of the topic-predicate articulation of the Hungarian clause.

(1) A: Mit csináltak az albérlők?
What.ACC did.3PL the tenants
'What did the tenants do?'

B:[**Topic** Az albérlők] [**Predicate** el-adták a lakást].
the tenant.PL PV.sold.3PL the flat.ACC
'The tenants sold the flat.'

Typically, the topic is a referential expression denoting 'old' or 'known' information (cf. *az albérlők* 'the tenants' in (1)) while the predicate often begins with a preverb (cf. *el* 'away' in (1)) in neutral sentences.[15] É. Kiss (2002) gives the following definition of the function of topics:

(2) "The topic function:
The topic foregrounds an individual (a person, an object or a group of them) from among those present in the universe of discourse as the subject of the subsequent predication."
(É. Kiss 2002 : 9)

The topic in (1) corresponds to the grammatical subject of the sentence. However, according to the definition in (2) it is possible to foreground another element from the discourse context, regardless of its grammatical function, as (3)B shows. Any constituent can occur in the topic position. In (3)B the grammatical object serves as the topic of the sentence simply because it is about this element from the discourse situation that the speaker wishes to formulate an utterance.

(3) A: Mit csináltak az albérlők a lakással?
what.ACC did.3PL the tenants the flat.INSTR
'What did the tenants do to the flat?'

B: [**Topic** A lakást] [**Predicate** el-adták az albérlők].
the flat.ACC PV.sold.3PL the tenant.PL
'The tenants sold the flat.' / 'The flat was sold by the tenants.'

(ii) A: Mi történt?
'What happened?'

B: Meg-etette Géza a macskát.
PV.fed.3SG Géza the cat.ACC
'Géza has fed the cat.'

I also adopt Lambrecht's (1994) claim that the distinction between categorical and thetic sentences is pragmatically determined. For example, given that the statement in (iii) c. can answer both the questions in (iii) a. and the one in (iii) b., it must be the pragmatic context that determines the type of an utterance.

(iii) a. *'What happened?'*
b. *'What did the children do next?'*
c. *'The children went to school.'*
(Lambrecht 1994: 121)

I discuss the structure of thetic sentences, as well as sentences with multiple topics in section 2.3.2.1. These sentence types are not relevant for the discussion here.

[15] By 'neutral sentence' I mean a sentence without a preverbally focused constituent.

Typically, the predicate contains a VP.[16] É. Kiss (2002) defines the predicate as follows:

(4) "Categorially the predicate is a VP merged with morphosyntactic elements such as tense, mood, and agreement, and either extended into an aspectual phrase, or embedded in operator projections such as a focus phrase, distributive quantifier phrase and/or a negative phrase. "

É. Kiss (2002 : 27)

In the Hungarian sentence the topic-predicate boundary can be detected in two ways: via stress assignment and via adverb placement.

The first major constituent of the predicate bears the strongest grammatical stress.[17] The topic does not usually bear stress and even in cases when it does it cannot be stronger than that of the predicate. The other test to detect the topic-predicate boundary concerns the insertion of a sentence adverbial. A sentence adverbial can be positioned either before or after the topic but it must precede the predicate. Therefore, the rightmost position where a sentence adverbial can occur shows the topic-predicate boundary.

Example (5) illustrates both the stress pattern of the predicate (i.e. the preverb in capitals is stressed) and the possible positions of the sentence adverbial *remélhetőleg* 'hopefully'.

(5) <Remélhetőleg> [$_{Topic}$ a lakást] <remélhetőleg> [$_{Predicate}$ MEG-vették
hopefully the flat.ACC hopefully PV.bought3SG
<*remélhetőleg> az albérlők].
hopefully the tenant.PL
'Hopefully, the tenants bought the flat.' / 'Hopefully, the flat was bought by the tenants.'

As the above example shows, the rightmost position in which the sentence adverbial *remélhetőleg* 'hopefully' can occur is right before the predicate.

As pointed out above, the order of the constituents is strictly fixed pre-verbally, yielding the hierarchy of the left periphery shown in the tree representation in (8). This abstract structure is also indicated via labelled bracketing in examples (6) and (7).

(6) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TopP}$ Gábor [$_{DistQP}$ mindent [$_{AspP}$ le- [$_{VP}$ fényképezett [Bécsben.]]]]]
Gábor everything PV took.a.photo.3SG Vienna.IN
'Gábor took a photo of everything in Vienna.'

(7) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TopP}$ Gábor [$_{DistQP}$ mindent [$_{FocP}$ **ÖTSZÖR** [$_{VP}$ fényképezett [le
Gábor everything five.times took.a.photo.3SG PV
[Bécsben.]]]]]]]
Vienna.IN
'Gábor took FIVE photoes of everything in Vienna.'

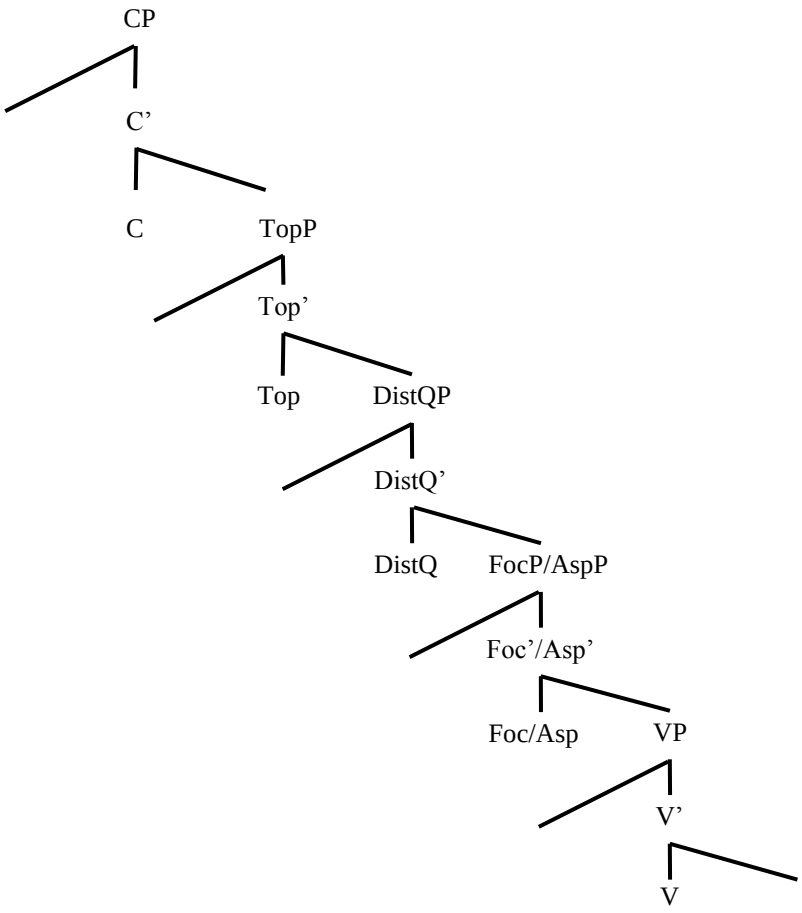
In (6) and (7) the abbreviation TopP stands for the Topic phrase hosting the sentence topic that has been introduced above; DistQP stands for the Distributive Quantifier phrase hosting quantifiers with a distributive meaning, such as that universal quantifiers in (6) and (7); AspP in (6) stands for the Aspect phrase that is typically filled by a preverb serving to perfectivize the action expressed by the verb and FocP in (7) stands for the Focus phrase, which is a designated preverbal position for focused constituents. DistQP and FocP are preverbal operator positions (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

[16] Nominal and adjectival predicates are out of the concern of this dissertation and for that reason they are not discussed.

[17] É. Kiss (2002) defines 'grammatical stress' as a kind of stress not influenced by pragmatic factors.

The AspP and the FocP, both projected immediately above the VP cannot co-occur. This relation is marked by the slash between AspP and FocP in (8). More details about this follow in section 2.3.2.4.

(8)



After this introductory overview of the left periphery of the clause in Hungarian the next section provides a brief description of the four projections occurring in the preverbal domain of the predicate.

2.3.2 CONSTITUENTS OF THE LEFT PERIPHERY

2.3.2.1 TOPICS

This section deals with the topic projection in more detail. It concentrates on the main descriptive characteristics and mainstream analyses of topics rather than on controversial theoretical issues. The aim of the section is (a) to give a reader unfamiliar with the sentence structure of Hungarian clear criteria as to how to differentiate the topic projection from other projections of the left periphery and (b) to introduce the two types of topic projection (ordinary topic and contrastive topic) that differ in their interpretation and in the types of constituents they can host. The difference between the two types of topic will be particularly important for the discussion of split NP constructions in Chapter 3 but it will also return in the description of long focus constructions in Chapter 4 and in the analysis of LSF in Chapter 8.

As is clear from the definition in (2), the relation between the topic and the rest of the sentence (i.e. the predicate) is one of predication. É. Kiss (1998) defines the predication relation in formal terms as follows:

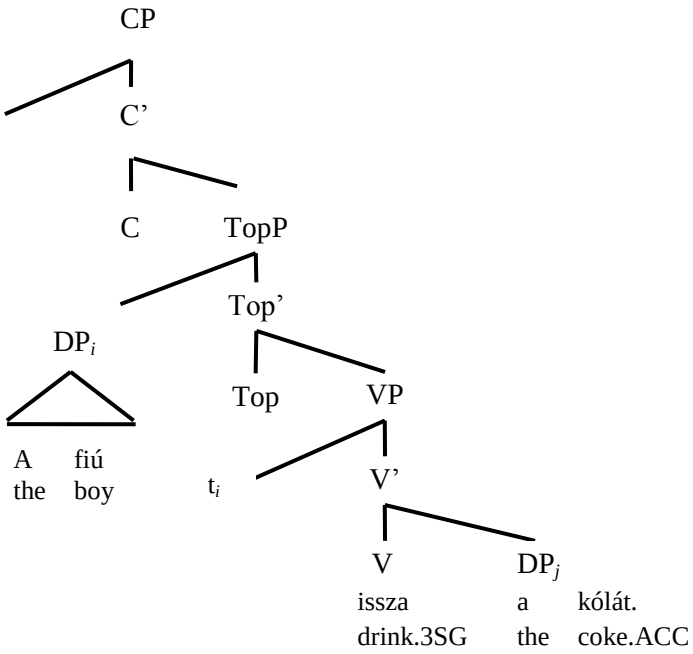
(9) Primary predication structure:

> A primary predication structure is a structural relationship between a Predicate Phrase and an XP such that XP is the external argument of the Predicate Phrase and is coindexed with a trace inside the predicate phrase.

(É. Kiss (1998) cited in Gécseg and Kiefer (2009: 587))

It follows from the definition in (9) that the topic constituent occurs in its surface position as a result of movement. Topic movement is usually represented as follows[18]:

(10)



'The boy is drinking the coke.'

Constituents occurring in the topic position must be either referential and specific or generic. Example (10) is an illustration of a referential and specific topic. In (10) the topic *a fiú* 'the boy' is referential as it denotes an individual. The requirement of specificity is also fulfilled as definite DPs are necessarily specific, unless they have generic reference (cf. (11)), which is not the case in (10) as is witnessed by the translation.

A sentence with a generic definite DP in topic position is shown in (11):

(11)	[$_{CP}$	[$_{TopP}$	A	papagáj	[$_{VP}$	bírja	a	hideget,	a	huzatot	viszont	nem]]].
			The	parrot		bear.3SG	the	cold.ACC	the	draft.ACC	PRT	not

'Parrots can bear the cold but not the draft.'

[18] The predicate is shown here without its operator projections in the preverbal domain. I adopt the standard assumption that these projections are only present in the clausal structure when they are filled (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

Indefinites can also occur in topic position provided they have specific reference (cf. É. Kiss (1987)):

(12) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TopP}$ Egy kutya [$_{AspP}$ be- [$_{VP}$ szaladt a kertünkbe.]]]]
A dog PV ran.3SG the house.Poss.1PL.INTO
'A (specific) dog ran into our garden.' [19]

Now I turn to the question in which sentence types the topic projection can occur. It was shown in section 2.3.1 that categorical sentences have a topic. Thetic sentences, on the other hand, do not contain a configurational predication relation as defined in (9)). Therefore, they do not have a topic, either.

É. Kiss (2002) argues that thetic sentences in Hungarian consist of nothing more than a Predicate Phrase (PredP). This is illustrated in (13)B.

(13) A: Mi történt?
what happened.3SG
'What happened?'

B: [$_{CP}$ [$_{PredP}$ Meg-szűnt a gyár.]]
PV.stopped.3SG the factory
'The factory has ceased to exist.'

A clause can contain multiple topics, as well. Example (14) is an illustration of a sentence with two topics:

(14) [$_{CP}$ Tegnap [$_{TopP}$ **Péter** [$_{TopP}$ **Marit** [$_{DistQP}$ mindenkinek [$_{FocP}$ PISTÁVAL EGYÜTT
yesterday Peter Mari.ACC everyone.DAT Pista.INST together
[$_{VP}$ mutatta be]]]]]].
introduced.3SG PV
'Yesterday Peter introduced Mary to everyone together with Pista.'

É. Kiss (2002) claims that when a sentence contains multiple topics, it is all of the topic constituents that the rest of the sentence is predicated about. In other words, in such sentences two or more entities are singled out for subsequent predication. They are related to the same predicate via the predication relation defined in (9). As (15) illustrates, the order of the topics does not affect the interpretation of the utterance in any way.

(15) [$_{CP}$ Tegnap [$_{TopP}$ **Marit** [$_{TopP}$ **Péter** [$_{DistQP}$ mindenkinek [$_{FocP}$ PISTÁVAL EGYÜTT
yesterday Mary.ACC Peter everyone.DAT Pista.INST together
[$_{VP}$ mutatta be]]]]]].
introduced.3SG PV
'Yesterday Peter introduced Mary to everyone together with Pista.'

[19] Example (12) has a reading in which *egy kutya* 'a dog' has non-specific reference (cf. (i)). Based on similar examples Gécseg and Kiefer (2010) conclude that non-specific indefinites can also occur in topic position. I do not share this view as in my interpretation (i) answers the question 'What happened?'. Therefore, I take such sentences to be topicless under the non-specific reading. This, however, does not influence my analysis of LSF in any way.

(i) Egy kutya be szaladt a kertünkbe.
A dog PV.ran.3SG the house.Poss.1PL.INTO
'A (non-specific) dog ran into our garden.'

Topics can also stay in situ as long as there is another topic that sits in the topic position (cf. (16), where the DP *Marit* occupies a topic position while the DP *Péter* remains in situ). In other words, when a sentence has a topic-predicate articulation, one topic must move from its predicate-internal (base-generation) position to the specifier of the clause-initial TopP (cf. É. Kiss (2002)).

(16) [$_{CP}$ Tegnap [$_{TopP}$ **Marit** [$_{DistQP}$ mindenkinek [$_{FocP}$ PISTÁVAL EGYÜTT
yesterday Mary.ACC everyone.DAT Pista.INST together
[$_{VP}$ mutatta be **Péter**]]]]]].
introduced.3SG PV Peter
'Yesterday Peter introduced Mary to everyone together with Pista.'

Recall that topics are typically referential and specific. In the rest of this section I introduce a subtype of topics, i.e. contrastive topics, which receive a different interpretation. The contrastive topic phrase (henceforth CTopP), will return in my discussion of split nominal phrases in Chapter 3, in the description of long focus constructions in Chapter 4 and in my analysis of LSF in Chapter 8. A contrastive topic, as its name indicates, expresses contrast. This becomes clear in the translation of (17). The diacritic '/' before the topic constituent indicates rising intonation, which is typical of contrastive topics.[20]

(17) [CP[$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Marival**] bárhova el-mennék].
Mary.INSTR anywhere PV.go.Cond.1SG
'As for Mary, I would go anywhere with her.'
Implied meaning: There are others in the discourse context with whom the speaker would not go anywhere.

Contrast can also be expressed by means of particles, e.g. *viszont* in (18) (cf. Lipták 2011). In such cases the contrastive topic can be uttered without its characteristic (fall-)rise intonation pattern (cf. (18)).

(18) [CP[$_{Spec,CTopP}$ **Marival**] viszont bárhova el-mennék].
Mary.INSTR particle anywhere PV.go.Cond.2SG
'As for Mary, I would go anywhere with her.'
Implied meaning: There are others in the discourse context with whom the speaker would not go anywhere.

Moreover, contrastive topics can be followed by an optional resumptive pronoun:

(19) [CP[$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Marival**] (azzal) bárhova el-mennék].
Mary.INSTR res.pro.INSTR anywhere PV.go.Cond.1SG
'As for Mary, I would go anywhere with her.'
Implied meaning: There are others in the discourse context with whom the speaker would not go anywhere.

As discussed above, ordinary topics must be referential and specific. Contrastive topics, however, are not restricted in this way. In what follows, I illustrate the properties of ordinary and contrastive topics that they have in common, and then point out the major differences between them.

[20] Contrastive topics can also receive a fall-rise intonation contour (cf. Gyuris 2003).

Any constituent that can occur as an ordinary topic can also occur as a contrastive topic. Also, like ordinary topics, contrastive topics are iterable. Example (20) shows two contrastive topics in one clause.

(20) [$_{CP}$ Tegnap [$_{CTopP}$ /**Péter** [$_{CTopP}$ /**Marit** [$_{DistQP}$ mindenkinek [$_{FocP}$ PISTÁVAL EGYÜTT
yesterday Peter Mari.ACC everyone.DAT Pista.INST together
[$_{VP}$ mutatta be]]]]]].
introduced.3SG PV
'Yesterday Peter introduced Mary to everyone together with Pista.'
Implied meaning: Peter introduced Mary together with Pista while, for example, Paul introduced Kate without Pista.

Multiple contrastive topics, just like multiple ordinary topics, are freely interchangeable without an interpretational difference. Moreover, ordinary topics and contrastive topics can also freely intermingle, as (21) and (22) show.

(21) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,TopP}$ **Péter]** [$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Marit]** (azt) mindenkinek be-mutatta].
Peter Mary.ACC res.pro.ACC everyone.DAT PV.introduced.3SG
'Peter introduced Mary to everyone.'
Implied meaning: There is at least one other person in the discourse that Peter did not introduce or did not introduce to everyone.

(22) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Marit**] (azt) [$_{Spec,TopP}$ **Péter**] mindenkinek be-mutatta].
Mary.ACC res.pro.ACC Peter everyone.DAT PV.introduced.3SG
'Peter introduced Mary to everyone.'
Implied meaning: There is at least one other person in the discourse that Peter did not introduce or did not introduce to everyone.

It is clear from (21) and (22) above that an individual-denoting (i.e. referential) and specific DP can occur as a contrastive topic, too. However, non-referential and non-specific nominal phrases can also fill this position, as the following examples show. In (23) a non-specific indefinite (here a bare NP) occurs as a contrastive topic and in (24) a DistQP does.

(23) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Autót**] sok fiú vezetett már].
car.ACC many boy drove.3SG already
'Many boys have already driven a car.'
Implied meaning: ... but (for example) not many boys have driven a lorry.

(24) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /**Minden fiút**] nem hívok meg a buliba].
every boy.ACC not invite.1SG PV the party.INTO
'I won't invite every boy to the party.'
Implied meaning: ... but I'll invite some.

Lipták (2011) argues that ordinary topics and contrastive topics occupy different functional projections, Spec,TopP and Spec,CTopP respectively. She assumes, similarly to Szabolcsi (1997) that the content of functional projections is the cause of meaning differences and not the content of the elements moving to those projections. This can explain why CTopP can host other types of constituents than TopP. For more details about the reasoning and the derivation the reader is invited to consult the original work, as the derivation of topics is outside the scope of this thesis.[21]

[21] For other views about the TopP see for example Gécseg and Kiefer (2010), about the CTopP É. Kiss (2002), Gyuris (2003) and about a different approach to the derivation of topics Marácz (1989).

2.3.2.2 QUANTIFIERS

Constituents occurring in Spec,DistQP receive a distributive interpretation. The designated position for distributive quantifiers is most typically occupied by universal quantifiers as is shown in (25).

(25) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **Mindenki/** **minden** **fiú/** **valamennyi** **fiú/** **bármelyik** **fiú/**
everyone/ every boy/ every boy any boy
mindkét **fiú/** **az** **összes** **fiú**] fel-ment a hegyre].
both boy/ the all boy PV.went.3SG the mountain.ONTO
'Everyone/every boy/every boy/any boy/both boys/all the boys climbed the mountain.'

However, it is not only universal quantifiers that can occupy this position but also positive existential quantifiers (cf. (26)), *is*-phrases ('also'-phrases) (cf. (27)) and numeral phrases extended by *is* 'also' (cf. (28)).

(26) [$_{CP}$ Marit [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **sok/** **számos/** **több** **mint** **öt/** **legalább** **öt** **fiú**]
Mary.ACC many/ numerous/ more than five/ at.least five boy
meg-csókolta].
PV.kissed.3SG
'Many/numerous/more than five/at least five boys kissed Mary.'

(27) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **Pista** **is**] fel-ébredt a villámlásra].
Pista also PV-woke.3SG the lightning.ONTO
'Also Pista was woken up by the lightning.'

(28) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **Három** **gyerek** **is**] át-úszta a Balatont].
three child also PV-swam.3SG the Balaton.ACC
'Also three children swam across lake Balaton.'

Like TopP, DistQP is also iterable. Example (29) shows a sentence with two distributive quantifiers:

(29) [$_{CP}$ Pista [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **minden** **gyereknek**] [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **minden** **nap**] ad
Pista every child.DAT every day give.3SG
egy almát].
an apple.ACC
'Pista gives an apple to every child every day.'

In what follows in this section I describe the difference between constituents occurring in Spec,TopP and those occurring in Spec,DistQP. The distribution of sentence adverbials proves to be a useful test. The Distributive Quantifier phrase is, like the focused phrase, within the predicate. Therefore, a sentence adverbial following it is expected to be ungrammatical and this is indeed what we find:

(30) [$_{CP}$ <Meglepetésemre> [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **három** **gyerek** **is**] <*meglepetésemre>
surprise.Poss.1SG.ONTO three child also surprise.Poss.1SG.ONTO
át-úszta a Balatont].
PV.swam.3SG the Balaton.ACC
'(To my surprise), also three children swam across lake Balaton.'

Some phrases occurring in Spec,DistQP can also occur in Spec,TopP. In particular, positive existential quantifiers can be topicalized as well, provided that they acquire a referential, partitive interpretation.[22] In (31) the phrase *számos megélhetési bűntettet* 'numerous subsistence

[22] By referential, partitive interpretation É. Kiss (2002) means that these quantifiers are "understood to refer to specific members of a group of individuals present in the domain of discourse" (É. Kiss 2002:107).

crimes' is in Spec,DistQP as the distribution of the sentence adverbial *meglepetésemre* 'to my surprise' shows. In (32) it is in Spec,TopP as the possible positions of the sentence adverbial indicate.

(31) [$_{CP}$ <Meglepetésemre> [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **mindenki**] <*meglepetésemre> [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **számos**
surprise.Poss.1SG.ONTO everyone surprise .Poss.1SG.ONTO numerous
megélhetési bűntettet] <*meglepetésemre> el-követne].
subsistence crime.ACC surprise .Poss.1SG.ONTO PV-commit.Cond.3SG
'(To my surprise) everyone would commit numerous subsistence crimes.'

(32) [$_{CP}$ <Meglepetésemre> [$_{Spec,TopP}$ **számos megélhetési bűntettet**]
surprise.Poss.1SG.ONTO numerous subsistence crime.ACC
<meglepetésemre> [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ **mindenki**] el-követne].
surprise.Poss.1SG.ONTO everyone PV-commit.Cond.3SG
'(To my surprise) there are numerous subsistence crimes that everyone would commit.'

When preceded by a DistQP *számos megélhetési bűntettet* 'numerous subsistence crimes' cannot be interpreted as a topic (i.e. (31)). The difference in interpretation between (31) and (32) (cf. their translation) shows that the constituent occupying Spec,TopP is associated with an existential presupposition or a partitive reading, each forcing a 'specific indefinite' interpretation of the constituent in question.

2.3.2.3 FOCUS

In many Indo-European languages 'emphatic' constituents are marked via distinct syntactic structures and/or by stress. In English, for example, clefting is used to single out a constituent as focused (cf. (33)) or, alternatively, stress can mark the information focus of a sentence (cf. (34), where the apostrophe marks stress).

(33) It is A CAR that Peter wants to buy.

(34) Peter wants to buy a 'CAR.

It is clear that focus (just like topic) is strongly context-dependent. Therefore, it is often held to be a pragmatic notion (cf. Lambrecht 1994). Erteschik-Shir (1997) gives the following definition of focus:

(35) The Focus of a sentence S = the (intension of a) constituent c of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S.

(Erteschik-Shir 1997: 11)

Contrary to most Indo-European languages, Hungarian word order is discourse-configurational, that is, it is based on the discourse-function of its sentence elements (cf. section 2.3.1). As shown in (8), the left periphery of the Hungarian sentence preserves a designated structural focus position.[23] In this section I summarize the most important characteristics of the structural focus in Hungarian that will be relevant for the description and analysis of LSF in this dissertation.

[23] Lambrecht (1994) differentiates between three types of focus structure : predicate-focus structure (cf. (i)), argument-focus structure (cf. (ii)) and sentence-focus structure (cf. (iii)).

One of the most noticeable properties of structural focus in Hungarian is that it triggers verb-preverb inversion (cf. (36)).

(36) [$_{CP}$ Holnap [$_{Spec,FocP}$ KATI] {**jön** **haza**./***haza-jön**}].
tomorrow Kate come.3SG home(PV)/*home(PV).come.3SG
'KATE is coming home tomorrow.'

A preverb always precedes the verb if there is no focused constituent in the clause (cf. (37)).

(37) [$_{CP}$ Holnap [$_{Spec,TopP}$ Kati] {**haza-jön**. / * **jön** **haza**}].
tomorrow Kate home(PV).come3SG / *come.3SG home(PV)
'Kate is coming home tomorrow.'

Verb-preverb order is the most frequently applied test to differentiate structural focus from other preverbal elements in the clause.

Besides the difference in the positioning of the preverb in e.g. (38) and (39), however, there are also clear interpretational differences between the two (cf. the translation of (38) and (39)).

(38) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,TopP}$ Pista] **le-rajzolta** a tanárt].
Pista PV-drew.3SG the teacher.ACC
'Pista made a drawing of the teacher.'

(39) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,FocP}$ PISTA] **rajzolta** **le** a tanárt].
Pista drew.3SG PV the teacher.ACC
'It was Pista who made a drawing of the teacher.'

In (38) it is stated about Pista that he made a drawing of the teacher while in (39) the DP *Pista* receives an exhaustive (and contrastive) reading: it was Pista and not someone else who made a drawing of the teacher. There are also prosodic differences between a constituent occupying Spec,TopP and one in Spec,FocP as pointed out in 2.3.1: the topic (including the contrastive topic) can never receive stronger stress than a focused constituent.

Another test to show whether the constituent under investigation is in the topic or in the focus position is the sentence adverbial test described in 2.3.1. As a sentence adverbial cannot occur inside the predicate (and a focused phrase is part of the predicate phrase), it is clear that it cannot be inserted after a focused phrase. Recall from 2.3.1, though that it can occur to the right of a

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(i) A : What happened to your car ?
B : My car broke DOWN.

(ii) A : I heard your motorbike broke down.
B : No, MY CAR broke down.

(iii) A : What happened ?
B : MY CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994 : 223)

As this dissertation deals with constructions in which an argument is focused (cf. (iv)), I do not discuss the other two types in this thesis.

(iv) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,FocP}$ **AUTÓT]** mondott hogy újat vett].
car.ACC said.3SG that new.ACC bought.3SG
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

topic. This test is especially helpful when the verb does not have a preverb. For example, the string in (40) is ambiguous as it is compatible with both a topic-predicate and a focus-background structure.

(40) Feri látta a filmet.
Feri saw the film.ACC
'Feri saw the film.'

In such cases we can use sentence adverbial placement to differentiate between the two possible analyses. Moreover, the interpretation and prosody of the sentences track the sentence adverbial facts (i.e. when the adverb precedes the DP *Feri*, we can get both interpretations and stress patterns, but when the adverb follows, only the the topic interpretation and stress pattern is allowed). As (41) shows, the sentence adverbial *tegnap* 'yesterday'can occur both before and after the preverbal DP *Feri*. In this case the DP *Feri* cannot receive strong stress and is interpreted as a topic. This shows that the DP under discussion is in topic position and not in focus position.

(41) [$_{CP}$ <Szerencsére> [$_{Spec,TopP}$ **Feri**] <szerencsére> látta a filmet].
fortunately Feri fortunately saw the film.ACC
'Fortunately, Feri saw the film.'

With an exhaustive interpretation characterising focused constituents, however, the DP in the surface string in (40) can be preceded but cannot be followed by a sentence adverbial as (42) shows:

(42) [$_{CP}$ <Szerencsére> [$_{Spec,FocP}$ **FERI**] <*szerencsére> látta a filmet].
fortunately Feri fortunately saw the film.ACC
'(Fortunately) it was Feri who saw the film.'

The structurally focused constituent receives the strongest stress in the sentence. In (43) the apostrophe stands for strong stress. The interpretation of the pre-verbally focused phrase is typically contrastive and can represent new or old information. In (43)a. *új autót* 'new car' as a whole is contrasted. However, less typically, this stress pattern can also be associated with an interpretation in which *autót* 'car' is not contrasted but only *új* 'new' receives a contrastive interpretation (cf. (43) b.).

(43) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,TopP}$ Kati] holnap [$_{Spec,FocP}$ '**ÚJ AUTÓT]** hoz haza].
Kate tomorrow new car.ACC bring.3SG home(PV)
a. 'Kate is going to take home a NEW CAR tomorrow.(as opposed to an old motorbike)'
b. 'Kate is going to take home a NEW car tomorrow.(as opposed to an OLD car).

The focused constituent receives an exhaustive interpretation as pointed out in the discussion following example (39). This characteristic of preverbal focus is illustrated in (44). In example (59) it is implied that it is a car that Kate is going to take home tomorrow and nothing else (that is relevant in the discourse context).

(44) **AUTÓT** hoz haza holnap Kati *(és biciklit is)
car.ACC bring.3SG home(=PV) tomorrow Kate *(and bike.ACC too)
*'Kate is going to take home a CAR tomorrow *(and also a BIKE).'*

If, however, *biciklit* 'bike' occurs in the focus position as well (cf. (45)), exhaustivity extends to the phrase *autót és biciklit* 'car and bike' as the translation of (45) shows.

(45) **AUTÓT** **ÉS** **BICIKLIT** hoz haza holnap Kati *(és motort is)
car.ACC and bike.ACC bring.3SG home(=PV) tomorrow Kate *(and motorbike.ACC too)
*'Kate is going to take home A CAR AND A BIKE tomorrow *(and also aMOTORBIKE).'*

It is not necessarily the first element of a focused phrase that receives the strongest stress. In (46) for example, the second element *autót* 'car' does (cf. the apostrophe indicating stress before *autót*). In this case the adjective *új* 'new' receives the status of old/known/presupposed information.

(46) [CP [$_{Spec,TopP}$ Kati] holnap [$_{Spec,FocP}$ **ÚJ** **'AUTÓT**] hoz haza].
Kate tomorrow new car.ACC bring.3SG home
'Kate is going to take home a new CAR tomorrow.'(as opposed to a new MOTORBIKE)

As pointed out in section 1.1, wh-words in wh-questions surface in the focus position (cf. section 1.1). *Csak* 'only' phrases also move to the focus position of the clause as the verb-preverb inversion in (25) indicates.

(47) **CSAK** **MARI** utazott el hétfőn.
only Mary travelled.3SG PV Monday.on
'Only Mary started travelling on Monday.'

In complex clauses material from the embedded clause can surface in the focus position of the matrix clause. In this case the focused constituent assumes matrix scope (cf. (48) and (49)). In (48) negation scopes over focus, while in (49) focus scopes over negation. This leads to two different readings as clear from the translation of (48) and (49).

(48) Nem szeretném hogy **CSAK** **MARIVAL** barátkozz.
Not like.Cond.1SG that only Mary.INSTR friends.make.2SG
'I wouldn't like that you make friends only with Mary.'

(49) **CSAK** **MARIVAL** nem szeretném hogy barátkozz.
Only Mary.INSTR not like.Cond.1SG that friends.make.2SG
'It is only Mary that I wouldn't like you to make friends with.'

(É. Kiss 2002: 87)

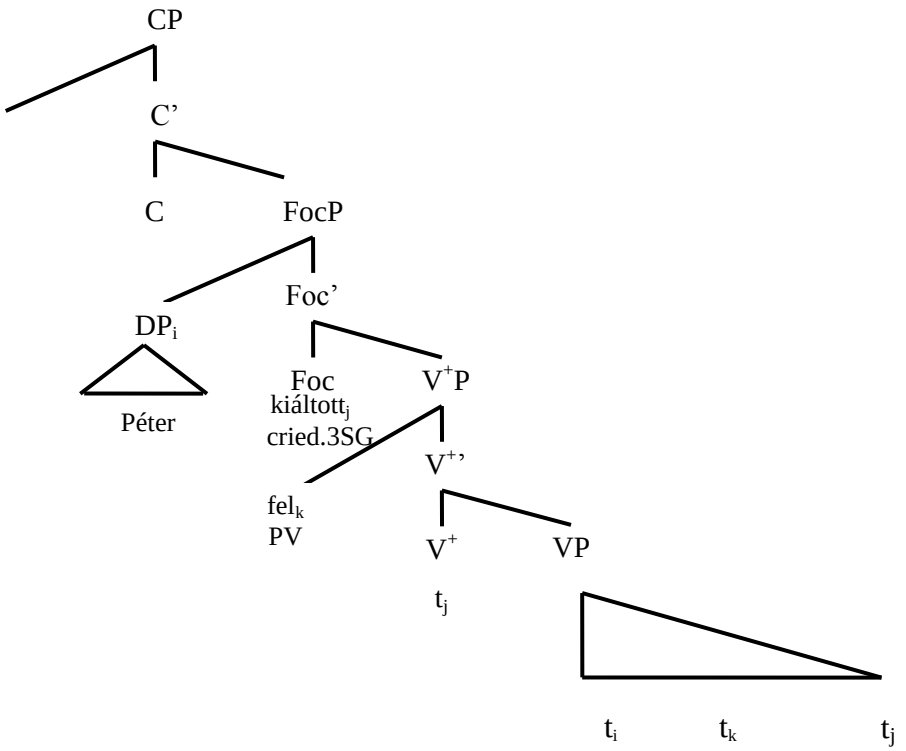
Next I turn to the representation of structural focus.

The analysis of focused constituents as occupying the specifier of a designated position (i.e. Spec,FocP) goes back to Brody (1990a, 1995). In his theory the morphological feature [+f(ocus)] projects a FocP.[24] This feature needs to be checked by moving a suitable phrase to Spec,FocP. In his account the representation of a sentence with a structurally focused constituent (cf. (50)) would be as shown in the tree diagram in (51)[25].

(50) PÉTER kiáltott fel.
Peter shouted.3SG PV
'It was Peter who cried out.'

[24] Szendrői (2003, 2004) claims that focus movement is prosody-driven.
[25] This is a slightly modified version of Brody's (1990a) representation, in that he does not assume that the V^+-projection is a phrase.

(51)



The focused constituent *Péter* must move to Spec,FocP to check its [+f]-feature. The Foc-head attracts the verb, thus leading to verb-preverb inversion. The preverb must move to Spec,V^+P, a designated position primarily hosting preverbal modifiers (cf. section 2.3.2.4). Several theories adopting Brody's representation of structural focus, such as É. Kiss (2002), relabel the V^+P projection as AspP (aspect phrase, cf. 2.3.2.4) or PredP (predicate phrase, e.g. É. Kiss 2006).

É. Kiss (2002) furthermore claims that the FocP is not projected above the AspP but that it is an alternative to it. É. Kiss (2002) argues that the preverb does not move to a designated position when it surfaces in post-verbal position in examples like (52).[26]

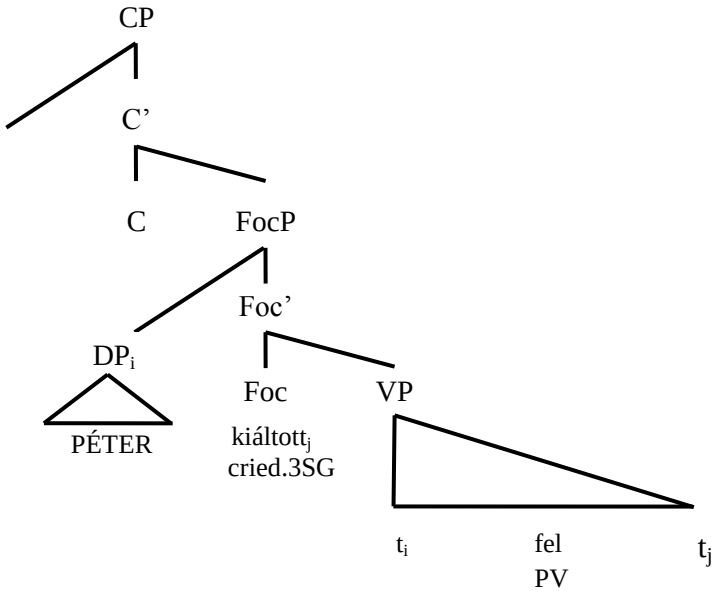
(52) [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ ANTIBIOTIKUMOT írt [$_{VP}$ <fel> neki <fel> az orvos <?fel>]]].
Antibiotics.ACC wrote.3SG PV DAT.3SG PV the doctor PV
'The doctor prescribed him/her antibiotics.'

Example (52) shows that the preverb *fel* 'up' can appear in several post-verbal positions of which only one (albeit the most natural one) is adjacent to the verb (cf. section 2.3.1 about free word order in the post-verbal domain).

In this dissertation I adopt the representation of structural focus with the modification of É. Kiss (2002) in that FocP is an alternative to AspP. I also adopt É. Kiss's (2002) proposal that the preverb does not move out of the verb phrase when there is no AspP projected. As follows from this, sentence (50) would be represented as shown in (53):

[26] See also section 2.3.2.4.

(53)



In (53) FocP immediately dominates VP. More generally, there is a constituent with a [+f(ocus)]-feature in the clause, hence FocP must be projected in lieu of AspP, the alternative which occurs in neutral sentences.[27] The verb moves out of the VP to the Foc head and the preverb remains stranded in the verb phrase.

2.3.2.4 PREVERBAL MODIFIERS

Preverbal modifiers are most commonly assumed to occupy Spec,AspP in the clausal structure (cf. section 2.3.1, and see also É. Kiss 2002). The aspect phrase, as its name indicates, attracts constituents that can serve to mark the aspect of the sentence. Most typically, this role is fulfilled by preverbs (cf. (54)).[28]

[27] I use 'neutral sentence' in the following sense : a categorical sentence that does not contain a preverbally focused constituent.

[28] Hungarian makes extensive use of preverbs (also called 'verbal prefixes' or 'verb modifiers'). As the following list of the most common ones shows, they are most frequently interpreted as adverbs:

abba 'quit an activity', *agyon* 'to death', *alá* 'beneath' (dir.), *alább* 'down' (dir.), *által* 'through'/'over', *át* 'through'/'over', *be'* in', *bele* 'therein' (dir.), *egybe* 'as one' (dir.), *el* 'away'/'for a while', *elé* 'in front of' *(dir.)*, *ellen* 'against', *elő* 'out of a place which kept something invisible', *fel* 'up' (dir.), *félbe* 'in half' (dir.), *félre* 'aside', *felül* 'on top of', *fenn* 'up' (loc.), *hátra* 'aback', *haza* 'home' (dir.), *helyre* 'to its place', *hozzá* 'to'/'in addition' (dir.), *ide* 'here' (dir.), *jóvá* 'remove obstacle from the way of agreement', *keresztül* 'through'/'over' (dir.), *ketté* 'in two' (dir.), *ki* 'out', *körül* 'round' (dir.), *közbe* 'in between' (dir.), *közre* 'round' (dir.)/'in between' (dir.), *közzé* 'in between' (dir.), *külön* 'apart' (dir.), *le* 'down' (dir.), *létre* 'to existence', *meg* mainly: perfectivizer, *mellé* 'next to' (dir.), *neki* 'against' (dir.), *oda* 'there' (dir.), *ott* 'there' (loc.), *össze* 'together' (dir.), *rá* 'onto', *rajta* 'thereon', *széjjel* 'apart'/'to pieces', *szembe* 'in front' (dir.)/'face to face', *szét* 'apart' (dir.), *tele* 'up to full content', *tova* 'away', *tovább* 'farther'/'further', *tönkre* 'to an irrepairable state', *túl* 'beyond', *újjá* 're-', *újra* 'newly'/'again', *utána* 'after' (dir.), *utol* '(catch) up with', *végbe* 'happen in effect', *véghez* 'to the end'/'to make something happen in effect', *végig* 'along', *végre* 'to make something happen in effect', *viszont* 'in return', *vissza* 'back' (Keresztes 1995: 100, the translations are from me).

(54) [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{AspP}$ **meg-** [$_{VP}$ verte Pétert]]].
Mary PV beat.Past.3SG Peter.ACC
'Mary has beaten Peter.'

However, bare NP complements (cf. (55)) and bare predicative NPs (cf. (56)) also commonly occur in Spec, AspP.[29]

(55) [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{AspP}$ **uszodába** [$_{VP}$ ment]]].
Mary swimming.pool.INTO went.3SG
'Mary went to the swimming pool.'

(56) [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{AspP}$ **anya** [$_{VP}$ lett]]].
Mary mother became.3SG
'Mary became a mother.'

Finally, predicative adjectives (cf. (57)) and infinitives (cf. (58)) can also occupy this position.

(57) [$_{CP}$ Marit [$_{AspP}$ **szépnek** [$_{VP}$ tartják]]].
Mary.ACC beautiful.DAT consider.3PL
'Mary is considered beautiful.'

(58) [$_{CP}$ Mari [$_{AspP}$ **énekelni** [$_{VP}$ akar]]].
Mary sing.Inf want.3SG
'Mary wants to sing.'

What differentiates preverbs from adverbs, though, is the fixed preverbal position of the former (i.e. in Spec,AspP, see (54)). This is also reflected in the orthography of preverb-verb complexes: the verb and the preverb are written as one word (cf. (i)). To indicate the boundary between the two, I use a hyphen between the preverb and the verb throughout this dissertation (cf. (ii)).

(i) megver
PV.beat.3SG

(ii) meg-ver
PV.beat.3SG

Postverbally, the position of the preverb is relatively free (cf. (iii)). The inversion of *le* 'down' and *tépte* 'tore' in (iii) is due to the presence of preverbal focus (see section **Error! Reference source not found.**).

(iii) MARI tépte <**le**> a virágot <**le**> a bokorról <**le**>.
Mary tore.3SG PV the flower PV the bush.FROM PV
'MARY tore off the flower from the bush.

The interpretation of preverbs, however, varies greatly depending on the meaning of the verb they attach to. In other words, verbal prefixes contribute to the aspect of a sentence but they do not entirely determine it on their own (cf. Kiefer 1992).

[29] However, not all constituents appearing in the specifier of this projection can be associated with aspect, as É. Kiss (2006), among others, points out. For example, the bare NP in (i) is assumed to occupy Spec,AspP according to standard theories.

(i) [$_{CP}$ Éva [$_{Spec,AspP}$ kávét] főzött].
Eve coffee.ACC cooked.3SG
'Eve (has) made/was making coffee.'

É. Kiss (2006 : 178)

However, as the translation shows, (i) is an aspectually ambiguous sentence. Therefore, the label 'AspP' is not unproblematic, either. I do not go into the details of the AspP as it is not relevant for my analysis of LSF.

As pointed out in 2.3.1, AspP and FocP are, at least descriptively, in complementary distribution (cf. (59), (60) and (61)) as they both need to immediately precede the verb. In the case of verb-preverb inversion the preverb no longer marks aspect (cf. (60)). Therefore, it is assumed that the preverb remains within the VP in such cases, i.e. it does not move to Spec,AspP (cf. section 2.3.2.4).

(59) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TopP}$ **Péter** [$_{AspP}$ **le-** [$_{VP}$ **szaladt** [a lépcsõn]]]]].
Peter PV ran.3SG the stairs.ON
'Peter ran down the stairs.'

(60) [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ **PÉTER** [$_{VP}$ **szaladt** [**le** [a lépcsõn]]]]].
Peter ran.3SG PV the stairs.ON
*'It was Peter who **ran down/was running** down the stairs.'*

(61) *[$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ **PÉTER** [$_{AspP}$ **le-** [$_{VP}$ **szaladt** [a lépcsõn]]]]].
Peter PV ran.3SG the stairs.ON

Example (59) is a perfective sentence with the preverb occupying Spec,AspP. Example (60), on the other hand, is aspectually neutral (cf. the translation of (60)) as the presence of focus neutralizes the aspect of a sentence (cf. Kiefer 1992).[30]

In this section I have discussed and compared the four left-peripheral constituents (i.e. topics, quantifiers, focus, preverbal modifiers). In the next section I will focus on the properties and structure of nominal phrases.

2.4 THE STRUCTURE OF NOMINAL PHRASES IN HUNGARIAN

In this section some basic descriptive characteristics of unsplit nominal phrases are introduced together with their most standardly adopted analysis. It primarily discusses the unsplit counterpart of those nominal phrases that occur in the LSF constructions analyzed in this thesis, i.e. bare, case-marked NPs premodified by a single, underived adjective. Furthermore, this section also introduces the three basic categories that nominal phrases fall into in Hungarian, namely DP, NumP and NP. This classification is meant to provide a background for the discussion of split nominal phrase constructions in Chapter 3, where the above mentioned threefold distinction becomes relevant in that NPs and NumPs can be split while DPs cannot.

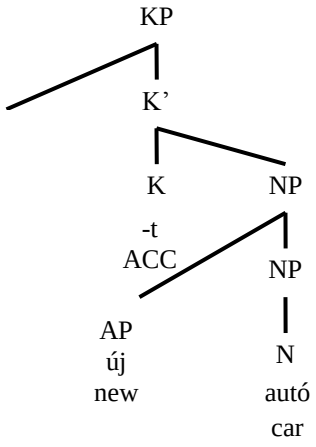
First I survey the main formal and semantic characteristics of NPs since in this dissertation, as pointed out above, I analyze LSF constructions containing a bare NP (cf. 1.1).

É. Kiss (2002) claims that in Hungarian nominal phrases the lexical noun phrase can be extended by various projections. A lexical noun phrase can be extended by a Kase phrase. The following example (cf. (62)) shows the representation of an NP premodified by a descriptive adjective (AP) and embedded in a Kase phrase.[31] This is the unsplit equivalent of the type of NP that is found in all types of LSF analyzed in this dissertation and this is the representation I adopt for unsplit NPs in this thesis.

[30] For more details about the AspP and about other means of expressing aspect in the Hungarian clause see for example Kiefer (1992), Csirmaz (2004, 2006) and É. Kiss (2002, 2006).

[31] Although case-marked NPs are technically KPs as shown in (62), for ease of exposition I will continue to refer to them as NPs in this dissertation.

(62)



új autót
'new car.ACC'

The example shows that the modifying adjective precedes the noun and is uninflected. These are obligatory characteristics of unsplit NPs as illustrated in (63).

(63) [$_{NP}$ új(*at) autót]
'new.*ACC car.ACC

The structure in (62) also shows that the NP *új autó* 'new car' is extended by a Kase phrase. I assume, following Embick and Noyer (2001) that the case ending shows up on the right of the noun as a result of lowering, which is a post-syntactic operation in the distributed morphology framework. Case is marked by suffixes in Hungarian, which attach to a nominal category, in this case to the noun *autó* 'car'. Note that there is no difference in the marking of structural and oblique cases in Hungarian, as (64) illustrates.[32]

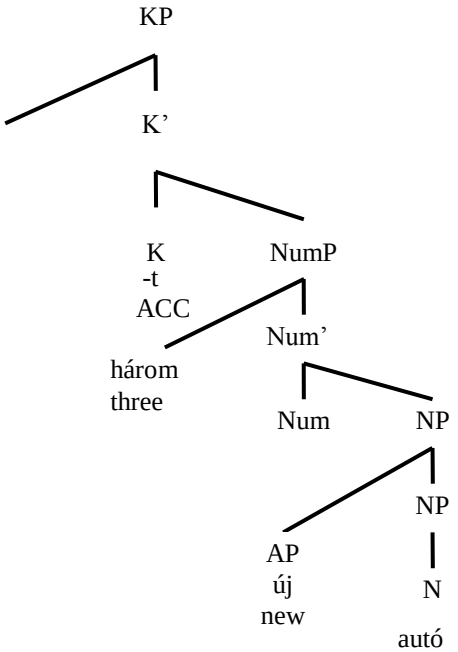
(64) új autó-val /-ba /-ban /-nál /-ról /-tól /-ból /-ra /-n/-hoz
new car.WITH/INTO/IN/AT/FROM.TOP.OF/FROM.NEXT.TO/FROM/ONTO/ON/TO
'with/into/etc. a new car'

Therefore, I do not assume a different representation from the one shown in (62) for noun phrases bearing an oblique case. To sum up, in NPs modified by an adjective the noun is preceded by the adjective, the adjective is uninflected while the noun is marked for case. NPs can be extended by a NumP layer and both NPs and NumPs can be embedded in a DP layer. Example (65) illustrates an NP embedded in a NumP-layer.

[32] Under structural cases I understand nominative and accusative case. Nominative case is unmarked in Hungarian. For the sake of uniformity, I assume the nominative suffix is a zero morpheme, as shown in (i).

(i) **Új** **autó-ø** áll az utcánkban.
New car.NOM stand.3SG the street.Poss.1PL.IN
'There's a new car standing in our street.'

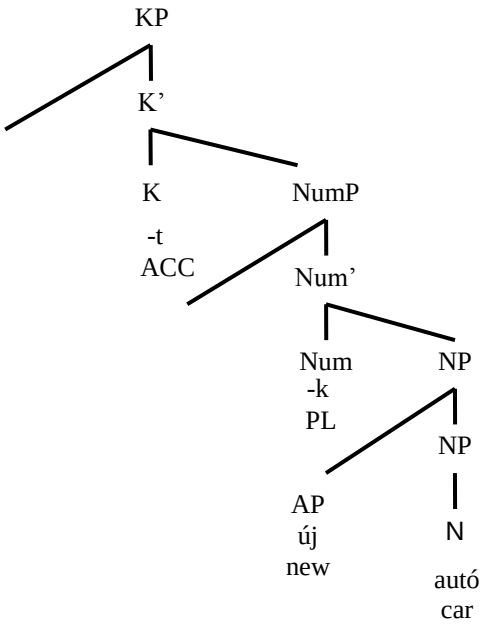
(65)



három új autót
three new car.ACC
‘three new cars’

As the example shows, the numeral *három* ‘three’ precedes the premodifying adjective and the head noun *autó* ‘car’ is in its unmarked singular form. Numerals (and quantifiers) are in complementary distribution with the plural suffix in Hungarian NPs. In other words, in an NP embedded in a NumP it is either the numeral that can surface (cf. (65)) or the plural suffix (cf. (66) but not both (cf. (67)).

(66)

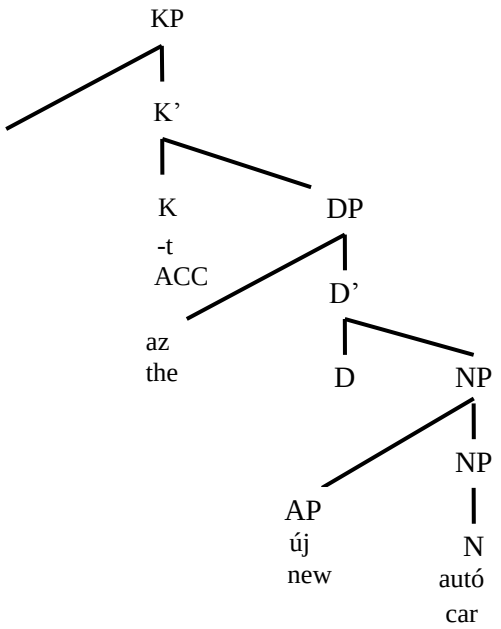


új autó-k-at
new car.PL.ACC
‘new cars’

(67) * három új autók
three new car.PL

É. Kiss (2002) argues that the numeral occupies Spec,NumP (cf. (65)) and the plural suffix the head position of NumP (cf. (66)). She claims that in cases where Spec,NumP is filled, an economy principle blocks the spell-out of the [+plural]-feature of the Num head. For the purpose of this presentation I adopt her view.
An NP (or a NumP) can be further embedded in a definite DP. An example of a case-marked DP is given in (68).

(68)



az új autót
the new car.ACC
'the new car'

As the tree representation in (68) shows, the definite article occupies Spec,DP.

In what follows, I give a brief description of NPs as this is the type of nominal phrase that occurs in the LSF-constructions I analyze in this thesis.

É. Kiss (2002) shows that NPs can take the role of any syntactic argument of the predicate. In (69) the NP is a subject, in (70) it is a direct object, and in (71) it is an indirect object (expressed by the dative in Hungarian, among other means). It can serve as an adjunct, too, as (72) illustrates. The NP is boldfaced in all these examples.

(69) Ha **lány** van köztük, abba-hagyják a káromkodást.
if girl is among.3PL PV-leave.3PL the cursing.ACC
'If there's a girl among them, they stop cursing.'

(70) **Őzet** láttunk a parkban.
deer.ACC saw.1PL the park.IN
'We've seen a deer/several deer in the park.'

(71) Idén **festőnek** adták a díjat.
This.year painter.DAT gave.3PL the prize.ACC
'This year they gave the prize to a painter.'

(72) **Főnőkkel** soha nem mentünk moziba.
Boss.INSTR never not went.1PL cinema.INTO
'We've never been to the cinema with a boss.'

NPs can occur as foci and contrastive topics but not as regular topics. This follows from the fact that NPs can only introduce entities that are not presupposed in the discourse while Spec,TopP can only host referential nominal phrases (cf. section 2.3.2.1). Although NPs can introduce entities, they primarily denote a property relevant for the discourse context. In (69) the relevant property is 'female', in (70) it is the general properties 'deer' have in common, in (71) it is the occupation 'painter' and in (72) it is the hierarchical position 'boss' (while other properties like age, gender, etc. that a boss also necessarily has are considered irrelevant). In (69) *lány* 'girl' can be a contrastive topic occupying Spec,CTopP, in which case it is pronounced with the characteristic (fall)-rise intonation (cf. section 2.3.2.1). In this case the sentence can be interpreted as follows: 'If there's a girl (as opposed to a *boy*) among them, they stop cursing'. The NP *lány* 'girl' can also receive srong stress, indicating that it can occur in Spec,FocP. In this case *lány* 'girl' receives not only a contrastive but also an exhaustive interpretation. NPs can also occur in postverbal argument positions (cf. (73)).[33]

(73) ?A parkban [$_{VP}$ láttunk **őzet]**.
the park.IN saw.1PL deer.ACC
'We've seen a deer/several deer in the park.'

Although NPs, as has been shown above, can serve as any argument of the verb and as an adverbial, as well, they most typically function as a predicate (cf. (74) and (75))[34].

(74) Orvos a fiam.
doctor the son.Poss.1SG
'My son is a doctor.'

(75) A nagyapám is orvos volt.
the grandfather.Poss.1SG too doctor was
'My grandfather was a doctor, too.'

As clear from (75), the NP *orvos* 'doctor' precedes the verb. This means that it has to occupy one of the projections discussed in section 2.3.1. The question arises which projection of the predicate the predicative NP occupies. In section 2.3.1 we have seen that the projections of of the predicate include DistQP, AspP, and FocP. As shown in (76), a predicative NP can occupy the specifier of the DistQP:[35]

[33] É. Kiss (2002) finds that NPs are barred from postverbal argument positions. I do not share her judgment but I agree that they are slightly degraded compared to preverbal argument NPs.
[34] Note that in the third person singular present tense the copula does not surface in Hungarian (cf. (74)) but in the past tense it must be overt (cf. (75)).
[35] Recall from section 2.3.2.2 that *is*-phrases, i.e. phrases containing the word *is* 'also' move to Spec,DistQP according to É. Kiss (2002). Brody (1990b), however, claims that *is* 'also' occupies the head of an IsP ('also'-phrase) projected above DistQP. Here I adopt É. Kiss's (2002) proposal. This does not affect my analysis of LSF in any way.

(76) [$_{CP}$ A the nagyapám grandfather.Poss.1SG [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ politikus politician is] too volt] was.
' (Apart from having another occupation,) my grandfather was a politican, too.'

É. Kiss (2002) shows that NPs functioning as a nominal predicate exhibit the same distribution as preverbs. Moreover nominal predicates and preverbs are in complementary distribution, as shown in (77) and (78).

(77) A the malac pig meg-lesz. PV.will.be.3SG
'The pig will be available/here.'

(78) A the malac pig vacsora dinner (*meg-)lesz. PV.will.be.3SG
'The pig will be(come) dinner.'

As preverbs can occur in Spec,Asp, É. Kiss (2002) argues that NP predicates can also occur in that position. The representations in (79) and (80) illustrate that the preverb and the nominal predicate occupy the same preverbal position, namely Spec,AspP.

(79) [$_{CP}$ A the nagyapám grandfather.Poss.1SG [$_{Spec,AspP}$ **ki**-] PV- volt] was.
'My grandfather was fed up.'

(80) [$_{CP}$ A the nagyapám grandfather.Poss.1SG [$_{Spec,AspP}$ **orvos**] doctor volt] was.
'My grandfather was a doctor.'

Moreover, examples (81) and (82) show that – in the presence of a focused constituent – both the preverb and the nominal predicate are forced to appear in post-verbal position.

(81) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,FocP}$ A the NAGYAPÁM] grandfather.Poss.1SG <*ki> PV [$_{VP}$ volt was <ki> PV]].
'MY GRANDFATHER was fed up.'

(82) [$_{CP}$ [$_{Spec,FocP}$ A the NAGYAPÁM] grandfather.Poss.1SG <*orvos> doctor [$_{VP}$ volt was <orvos> doctor]].
'MY GRANDFATHER was a doctor.'

A predicative NP can also be focused (cf. (83)) just like the preverb (cf. (84)).[36]

(83) [$_{CP}$ A the nagyapám grandfather.Poss.1SG [$_{Spec,FocP}$ ORVOS] doctor volt, was nem not tanár]. teacher.
'My grandfather was A DOCTOR and not a teacher.'

[36] Not all preverbs can be focused. Preverbs whose meaning cannot be contrasted cannot be focused, either. For example, the preverb 'meg-' has little individual semantic content but it rather indicates the completion of an action. As a result, it cannot be focused:

(i) * Péter Peter [$_{Spec,FocP}$ MEG]-érkezett. PV-arrived.3SG

(84) A nagyapám [$_{Spec,FocP}$ 'HAZA-] ment, nem a szomszédba.
The grandfather.Poss.1SG PV went not the neighbour.INTO
'My grandfather went HOME and not to the neighbour's.'

To sum up, the main semantic function of NPs is to denote properties while their main syntactic role is to function as a predicate. In a non-predicative role NPs can represent any argument of the predicate but they are barred from ordinary topic positions (because they are non-referential).

2.5 OBJECT DEFINITENESS AGREEMENT IN HUNGARIAN

2.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Object definitiness agreement is common among the Uralic languages (e.g. Ostyak, Tundra Nenents, Hungarian, cf. Mikola 1980, Fodor 2004).[37] Object definiteness agreement in Hungarian is considered to be a relatively uncommon type of agreement in that it involves definiteness but not phi-features (cf. Coppock and Wechsler (2010)).

Section 2.5.2 presents the basic facts of object definiteness agreement. Section 2.5.3 summarizes the main points of Bartos' (1999) account of object definiteness agreement that will be relevant in later sections.

2.5.2 THE BASIC FACTS

Present-day Hungarian has two verbal paradigms, depending on the presence or absence of a definite object in the clause. Table 1 illustrates the indefinite and the definite conjugation paradigm of the verb *vág* 'cut'.

[37] As for the origins of Hungarian object definiteness agreement, it has long been assumed to go back to a preceding developmental stage of the language where its function was to mark agreement between a topicalized object and the verb (cf. Marcantonio 1985). This hypothesis is built on Givón (1977) who claims that cross-linguistically verb conjugation is the result of topic doubling, whereby the doubled topic pronoun cliticized to the verb stem. As topics were most often agents and experiencers, many languages reanalyzed topic-verb agreement as subject-verb agreement (cf. Givón (1977)). It is assumed that definite but not indefinite objects could be topicalized in Old Hungarian (just like in Bantu-languages) and the 'topicalized object markers' were reanalyzed as object definiteness markers in Hungarian (cf. É. Kiss (2011)).

É. Kiss (2011) argues, however, that the grammatical function of object definiteness agreement in present-day Hungarian is different: it is used to license object drop. For the argumentation and more details of this analysis see the original work.

NUMBER	PERSON	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
SINGULAR	1	vág-o-k cut-linking vowel-subj.agr	vág-o-m cut-linking vowel-subj.&obj.agr
	2	vág-sz cut-subj.agr	vág-o-d cut-linking vowel-subj.&obj.agr
	3	vág-ø cut-subj.agr	vág-j-a cut-obj.agr-subj.agr
PLURAL	1	vág-unk cut-subj.agr	vág-j-uk cut-obj.agr-subj.agr
	2	vág-tok cut-subj.agr	vág-j-á-tok cut-obj.agr-linking vowel-subj.agr
	3	vág-nak cut-subj.agr	vág-j-á-k cut-obj.agr-linking vowel-subj.agr

Table 1. The indefinite and the definite conjugation pattern of the verb 'vág'

Table 1 shows that verb forms bear a subject agreement marker in the indefinite paradigm while they bear both a subject and an object agreement marker in the definite paradigm. This is the reason why the indefinite paradigm is called *alanyi ragozás* 'subjective conjugation' and the definite paradigm *tárgyas ragozás* 'objective conjugation' in descriptive grammars of Hungarian (e.g. Bárczi-Benkő-Berrár 1967). The indefinite conjugation paradigm is used when the verb is intransitive (cf. (85)) or in cases where the transitive verb has an indefinite object (cf. (86)). The definite conjugation paradigm occurs when the verb has a definite object (cf. (87)).

(85) A vonathoz szalad-sz?
the train.to run.2SG.indef.
'Are you running to the train?'

(86) Vág-sz egy kis fát?
cut.2SG.indef a little wood.ACC
'Are you going to chop some wood?'

(87) Te vág-od a fát?
you cut.2SG.def the wood.ACC
'Are you going to chop the wood?'

Bartos (1999) and É. Kiss (2002) argue that the definite paradigm contains both subject agreement and object agreement suffixes, which, in some cases fuse (in particular in 1st and 2nd person singular, see table 1).[38]

Importantly, object definiteness agreement is unavailable for oblique complements (cf. (88)). In such cases the verb must be in its indefinite form irrespectively of the definiteness of the oblique complement:

(88) Péter a fiára számított-ø/-*a.
Peter the son.Poss.3SG.ONTO expected.3SG.indef/def
'Peter counted on his son.'

[38] For the sake of simplicity I assume two agreement morphemes also in cases of fusion in this disseration (i.e. a null object agreement suffix in 1st and 2nd person singular). This does not affect my analysis of LSF in any way.

Besides being subject pro-drop, Hungarian is also an object-pro-drop language. Therefore, transitive verbs often agree with a 'pro' instead of an overt direct object. Object drop is only possible with a (3rd person) definite object (cf. (89)) not with an indefinite one (cf. (90)). Note that the matrix verb is in its definite from when it agrees with pro (cf. (89)B)

(89) A: Láttátok **Ferit** tegnap a buszmegállóban?
saw.2PL.def Feri.ACC yesterday the bus.stop.IN
'Did you see Feri in the bus stop yesterday?'

B: Ma láttuk ***pro*** egy Rolls-Royce-ban.
today saw.1PL.def a Rolls.Royce.IN
'We saw him in a Rolls-Royce today.'

(90) A: Mari evett **steak-et** tegnap ebben az étteremben?
Mary ate.3SG.indef steak.ACC yesterday this.IN the restaurant.IN
'Did Mary eat a steak in this restaurant yesterday?'

B: Tegnapelőtt evett ***(egyet)** abban a büfében.
the.day.before.yesterday ate.3SG.indef one.ACC that.IN the buffet.IN
'She ate one in that buffet the day before yesterday.'

In the next section I present a brief overview of Bartos's (1999) analysis about those aspects of object definiteness agreement that were described above.

2.5.3 SOME RECENT ANALYSES OF OBJECT DEFINITENESS AGREEMENT

Analyses of object definiteness agreement fall into two main categories based on whether the definite object agreement morpheme is taken to be an incorporated object (cf. Szamosi (1974), Den Dikken (2006)) or an agreement marker (Bartos (1999), Coppock and Wechsler (2010), É. Kiss (2011), Bárány (2012)). In what follows I introduce the main ingredients of Bartos' (1999) analysis as it is fairly standardly adopted and will be relevant for my presentation of previous accounts of long focus constructions in Chapter 5.

Bartos' central claim is that definite object agreement is triggered if the direct object is of the category DP (cf. (91)). NPs (cf. (92)) and NumPs (cf. (93))) do not trigger definite object agreement.

(91) Mari szedi [$_{DP}$ a virágokat].
Mary pick.3SG.**def** the flower.PL.ACC
'Mary is picking the flowers.'

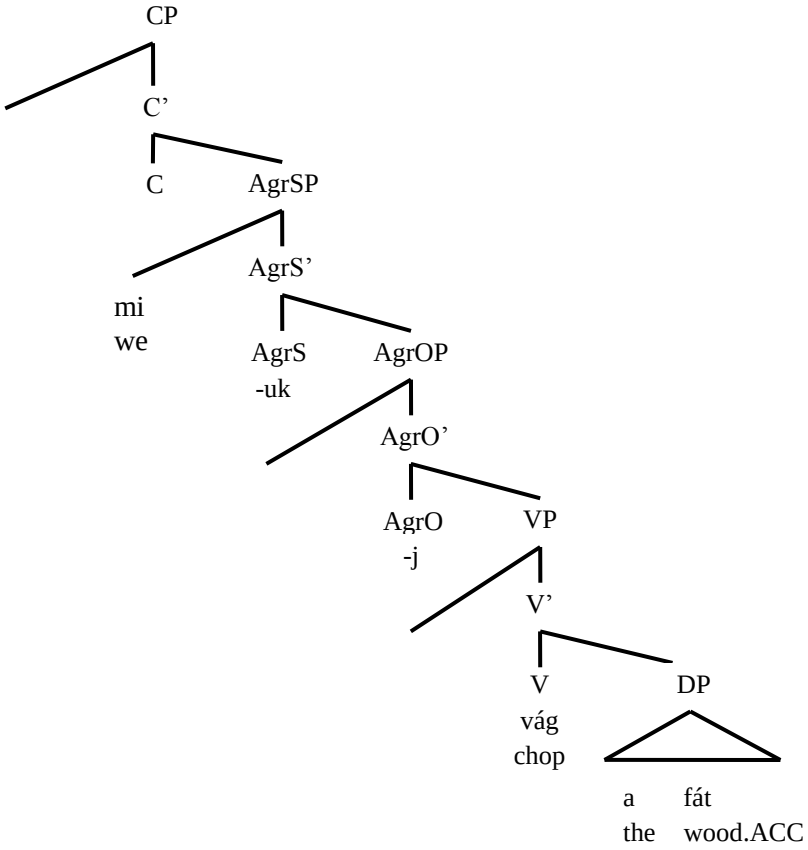
(92) Mari [$_{NP}$ virágot] szed.
Mary flower.ACC pick.3SG.**indef**
'Mary is picking flowers.'

(93) Mari [$_{NumP}$ virágokat] szed.
Mary flower.PL.ACC pick.3SG.**indef**
'Mary is picking flowers.'

Bartos (1999) adopts Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle in his account. He assumes that subject agreement and object agreement correspond to two functional heads, i.e. AgrS and AgrO

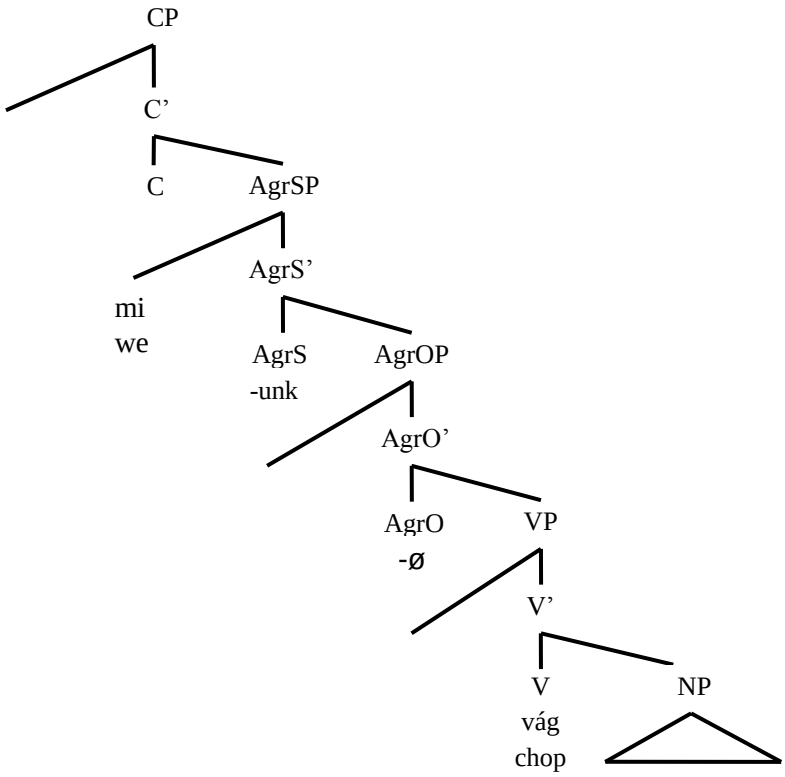
respectively. He assigns one structure to finite clauses with transitive verbs regardless of the definiteness of their direct object. The tree in (94) represents the structure of example (95) (with a definite object) and (96) shows the structure of example (97) (with an indefinite object). Note that both (94) and (96) contain the same pre-verbal projections but AgrO is filled by an overt morpheme in (94) and by a zero morpheme in (96).

(94)



(95) Mi vág-j-uk a fát.
we chop-obj.agr.-subj.agr the wood.ACC
'We are chopping the wood.'

(96)



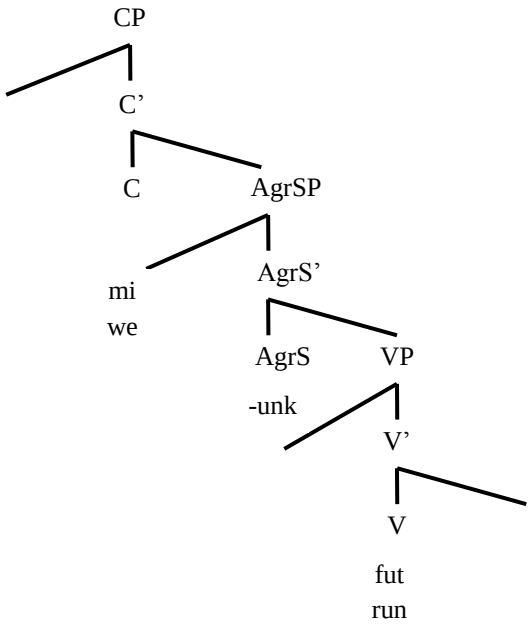
(97) Mi vág- ø -unk fát.
we chop-obj.agr-subj.agr wood.ACC
'We are chopping some wood.'

The structures in (94) and (96) show that the VP is immediately dominated by AgrOP while the AgrSP hosting the subject is right above the AgrOP.[39] The verb forms *vágjuk* in (95) and *vágunk* in (97) are created by morphological merger in Bartos' (1999) account (cf. Halle and Marantz 1993).

According to Bartos (1999) if the verb is intransitive, it does not project an AgrOP as shown in (98).

[39] In Bartos's (1999) theory the verb is dominated by various functional projections (a modality phrase (ModP), a tense phrase (TP), and a mood phrase (MP)), in this order, which I do not indicate in the trees in (94) and (96). Note that the functional projections of the left periphery discussed in section 2.3.1 (i.e. the FocP, AspP, DistQP and TopP) are projected above the AgrP projections. These comments also apply to the tree in (98).

(98)



(99) Mi fut-unk.
we run-subj.agr
'We are running.'

The tree representation in (98) shows the structure of example (99).

To sum up, Bartos (1999) argues that the locus of object definiteness agreement is AgrOP. In his theory all finite, transitive verbs project an AgrOP. He argues that the object agreement marker shows up on the verb if and only if the object of the verb is a DP. If the object of the verb is not a DP (i.e. a NumP or an NP), the verb will have a null object agreement marker (i.e. it will be in its 'indefinite' form). When the verb is intransitive, no AgrOP is projected in his account. In other words, there are three possible situations in Bartos's account: an overt object agreement suffix (on transitive verbs agreeing with a DP), a null object agreement suffix (on transitive verbs agreeing with a NumP on an NP) and no object agreement suffix (on intransitive verbs).[40]

[40] For a different approach see Den Dikken (2006), Coppock and Wechsler (2010) and Bárány (2006).

3 Split ANP constructions in Hungarian

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the syntactic characteristics of split NPs premodified by a single, underived adjective (henceforth ANPs), as well as the syntactic properties of constructions in which they occur in Hungarian. As split nominal phrases have not been discussed in the Hungarian generative literature in detail (cf. section 1.1), this chapter presents new data. The presentation of the Hungarian data is meant to be purely descriptive in this chapter. Although the terms 'fronting', 'splitting', 'portion of a phrase' and 'stranding' are often associated with the description of syntactic movement processes in generative linguistics, they are used as non-technical terms here and they do not imply any theoretical analysis at this point.

Let's start with some terminological clarification concerning the category of the nominal phrase to be split. In section 2.4 NPs, NumPs and DPs have been distinguished. This distinction will be relevant for the analysis of long split focus constructions in the next chapters but less so in this one. Therefore, whenever the NP-NumP-DP – distinction is irrelevant, I use the cover term 'nominal phrase', abbreviated as NomP.

Like many other languages (e.g. German, Romanian, Finnish, see Giurgea 2006), Hungarian allows split NomP fronting, i.e. fronting of a portion of NomP (e.g. *autót* 'car.ACC' in (2)) containing the nominal element, while leaving its pre-nominal material (in (2) an adjective) stranded in post-verbal position. [41]

(1) ?Péter vett [$_{NP}$ **új** **autót**].[42]
Peter bought.3SG new car.ACC
'Peter bought a new car.'

(2) **Autót** vett Péter **újat**.
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter new.ACC
'Peter bought a new car.'

Several kinds of NomPs can be split in Hungarian. Examples (3) and (4) show that a measure phrase can be split from the noun it modifies and example (5) illustrates that a numeral can be split from the NP it belongs to.

(3) **A** **tejnek** Anna meg-itta **a** **felét**.
the milk.DAT Anna PV-drank.3SG the half.Poss.3SG.ACC
'Anna drank half of the milk.'

(Chisarik 2002: 5)

(4) **Bort** vett Mari **két** **litert.**
wine.ACC bought.3SG Mari two liter.ACC
'Mary bought two liters of wine.'

(5) **Zöld** **lóval** találkoztam **kettővel**.
green horse.INSTR met.1SG two.INSTR
'I met two green horses.'

(Szabolcsi 1986 : 17)

[41] The various discourse-functional properties of the split NomPs are represented in the translation of the examples only when they are relevant for the discussion.

[42] Recall from section 2.4 that É. Kiss (2002) claims that NPs are barred from postverbal argument position. I do not share this judgment but I agree that they are slightly degraded in that position compared to preverbal positions.

Moreover, there are several options of splitting up an NP that contains more than one adjective: in (6) the noun is fronted without its three modifiers, in (7) the noun is fronted together with one of its three modifiers and in (8) with two of them.[43]

(6) **Pulóvert** vett Sári **szép** **puha** **pirosat**.
pullover.ACC bought.3SG Sári nice soft red.ACC
'Sári bought a nice, red, soft pullover.'

(7) **Szép** **pulóvert** vett Sári **puha** **pirosat**.
nice pullover.ACC bought.3SG Sári soft red.ACC
'Sári bought a nice, red, soft pullover.'

(8) **Szép** **puha** **pulóvert** vett Sári **pirosat**.
nice soft pullover.ACC bought.3SG Sári red.ACC
'Sári bought a nice, red, soft pullover.'

Except for possessive constructions (cf. (3)), definite nominal phrases, i.e. DPs (eg. *az új autót* 'the new car' in (9)) cannot be split in Hungarian (cf. (10) and (11)). Examples (10) and (11) illustrate that the noun cannot be fronted regardless of whether it is accompanied by its definite article or not.

(9) Péter { meg-vette/ vette meg } **az** **új** **autót**.
Peter PV-bought.3SG/ bought.3SG PV the new car.ACC
'Peter has bought the new car.'

(10) * **Az** **autót** { meg-vette/ vette meg } Péter **újat**.
the car.ACC PV-bought.3SG bought.3SG PV Peter new.ACC

(11) * **Autót** { meg-vette/ vette meg } Péter **az** **újat**.
car.ACC PV-bought.3SG bought.3SG PV Peter the new.ACC

As the main concern of this dissertation is the split of ANPs (i. e. phrases like *új autót* 'new car' in (1)), only this type of phrase will be described in detail in the rest of this chapter.

Section 3.2 describes and defines the main characteristics of split ANPs in Hungarian. Section 3.3 introduces four constructions containing split ANPs. They are classified based on two criteria: (1) according to the position in which the head noun can occur and (2) according to whether there is a clause boundary between the two ANP portions or not. The above criteria yield the following fourfold classification of split ANP constructions:

(1) Short split topicalization (SST)
(2) Long split topicalization (LST)
(3) Short split focalization (SSF)
(4) Long split focalization (LSF)

A summary comparing the main syntactic properties of the above four constructions is presented in section 3.4. This dissertation provides an analysis of long split focalization (LSF). Therefore, this construction will be further discussed in Chapter 4. The rest of the split ANP constructions introduced here will not be analyzed in detail in this dissertation.

[43] Note that the adjective does not bear a case ending in pre-nominal position. However, in stranded, post-nominal position case marking shows up on the last adjective in the row. I do not discuss NomPs with multiple modifiers in this thesis. I return to the case properties of split ANPs in sections 3.2 and 3.4.

3.2 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPLIT ANP CONSTRUCTIONS

German split NPs or more precisely, instances of split NP topicalization (cf. (12)) have been extensively described and analyzed by various authors (e.g. Van Riemsdijk 1989, Fanselow 1988, Kniffka 1996, Fanselow and Ćavar 2002, Van Hoof 2005, Salzmann 2006, Nolda 2007, Ott 2011).

(12) **Französische Bücher** hat Amina bisher nur **drei** **langweilige** gelesen.
French books has Amina so.far only three boring read.
'As for French books, so far Amina only read three boring ones.'
(Ott 2011: 12)

I will not make a detailed comparison between Hungarian and German split NPs in this dissertation but I do adopt some of the relevant terminology frequently used in works on German split topicalization. Example (12) illustrates a split NP and (13) its continuous, i.e. 'unsplit' counterpart in German. As the examples show, split fronting in German separates the subparts of a continuous constituent and inverts their original order.

(13) Amina hat bisher nur **drei** **langweilige** **französische** **Bücher** gelesen.
Amina has so.far only three boring French books read
'Amina only read three boring French books so far.'

This is also a characteristic of the split ANPs that I analyze in this dissertation. Example (14) shows a Hungarian example of an unsplit ANP and (15) instantiates a prototypical case of a split one.

(14) **Zöld** **autót** vett Péter.
green car.ACC bought.3SG Peter
'Peter bought a green car.'

(15) **Autót** vett Péter **zöldet**.
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Peter bought a green car.'

Following Fanselow's (1988) terminology, the discontinuous NP found in (12) and (15) will be called 'inverted split NP' in this thesis. As example (16) illustrates, I label the ANP portion containing the noun as '*CORE*'. The ANP portion containing the adjective will be referred to as '*REM*' (cf. (16)).[44]

(16) [*CORE* **Autót**] vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Peter bought a green car.'

After clarifying the basic terms I use for the description of split ANPs in this chapter, in what follows I restrict the discussion to split ANPs in Hungarian.

[44] Van Hoof (2005) uses the label '*REM*' to refer to the lower portion of a split phrase. I use this term in a slightly different way: as clear from the definition in the main text, '*REM*' stands for the adjective in a split ANP, regardless of whether it precedes or follows *CORE*. This difference is relevant in this chapter as there exist split ANP constructions in Hungarian in which *REM* precedes *CORE* (cf. section 3.3) but it will become irrelevant in later chapters as in the constructions I analyze *REM* always takes a lower position than *CORE*.

An obvious difference between unsplit and split ANPs in Hungarian is the presence versus absence of case marking on the adjective. In unsplit phrases the adjective is always unmarked for case (cf. *zöld* 'green' in (14)). In split phrases, however, the stranded adjective must take a case ending. In simple clauses this case ending corresponds to the case of the fronted noun (cf. accusative ending on both *autó* 'car' and *zöld* 'green' in (15)). A more refined description of the case properties of split ANP constructions follows in section 3.4, as it is related to the type of construction that hosts a split ANP.

The question arises whether the split ANP is an optional variant of the unsplit one or not. Continuous, unsplit NPs are far more common than split ones (cf. Szabolcsi 1986). Unsplit ANPs occur in a wide variety of discourse contexts while split ones are restricted to highly specific discourse contexts. Example (17) shows that the unsplit ANP is appropriate as an answer (cf. B) to a common question (cf. A) while its split counterpart is not (cf. C).

(17) A: Mit csinált Péter tegnap?
what.ACC did.3SG Peter yesterday
'What did Peter do yesterday?'

B: Péter meg-vett egy **zöld** **autót** tegnap.
Peter PV-bought.3SG a green car.ACC yesterday
'*Peter bought a green car yesterday.'*

C: *Péter meg-vett egy [*CORE* **autót]** tegnap **[***REM* **zöldet]**.
Peter PV-bought.3SG a car.ACC yesterday green.ACC
INTENDED: '*Peter bought a green car yesterday.'*

The motivation for the split of an ANP is that either *CORE* or *REM*, or both are associated with a specific information structural interpretation (contrastive topic or focus). This will be illustrated in detail below. My definition of split ANPs goes as follows:

(18) In an ANP the noun (i.e. *CORE*) and the adjective (i.e. *REM*) split if and only if at least one of them occurs in an operator position (in Spec,CTop or in Spec,FocP).[45]

[45] There is one ANP construction that appears to be an exception to this rule, namely 'appositive constructions'. In this ANP construction either the noun or the adjective occurs as an afterthought at the end of the clause, separated from it by a pause in speech and by a comma in writing (cf. (i) and (ii)). I do not deal with this type of construction in this dissertation as the postposed ANP portion probably occurs outside the core syntactic structure of the clause, as suggested by the ungrammaticality of example (iii).

(i) Vett Péter **autót** tegnap**,** **zöldet**.
bought.3SG Peter car.ACC yesteday green.ACC
'Peter bought a green car yesterday.'

(ii) Vett Péter **zöldet** tegnap**,** **autót**.
bought.3SG Peter green.ACC yesterday car.ACC
'Peter bought a green car yesterday.'

(iii) *Vett Péter {**autót** tegnap**,** **zöldet /** **zöldet** tegnap**,** **autót**}
bought.3SG Peter car.ACC yesterday green.ACC green.ACC yesterday car.ACC
az unokatestvérétől.
the cousin.Poss.3SG.FROM
INTENDED: *'Peter bought a green car from his cousin yesterday.'*

In other words, while in an unsplit ANP *REM* and *CORE* may receive at most one *common* information structural role in syntax, in a split ANP *CORE* and *REM* occur in different syntactic positions, at least one of which is associated with a specific information structural interpretation. This interpretation is either *focus* (assigned in Spec,FocP, cf. section 2.3.2.3) or *contrastive topic (*assigned in Spec,CTopP, cf. 2.3.2.1). Recall from section 2.3.2.1 that non-referential and non-specific constituents cannot occur as ordinary topics. Therefore, *CORE* and *REM* can only target Spec,CTopP or Spec,FocP but not Spec,TopP.

To illustrate the above generalization step by step, I start with the following pair of sentences. Example (19) shows an unsplit ANP that receives the information structural role 'focus' in Spec,FocP in syntax. As (20) shows, it is also possible for this unsplit ANP to occur in a syntactic position not associated with a specific information structural interpretation (e.g. in postverbal position).

(19) **[**$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ **ZÖLD AUTÓT**] vett Péter.
green car.ACC bought.3SG Peter
'Peter bought a GREEN CAR.'

(20) Péter vett **zöld** **autót**.
Peter bought.3SG green car.
'Peter bought a green car.'

As clear from the examples above, in an unsplit ANP *CORE* and *REM* occur in a syntactic position that is not necessarily Spec,CTopP or Spec,FocP. On the other hand, in a split ANP *CORE*, *REM* or both of them must occupy a position associated with a specific information structural interpretation. In (21) *REM* is interpreted as a contrastive topic in Spec,CTopP and *CORE* is interpreted as focus in Spec,FocP. In (22), for example, both *CORE* and *REM* receive the interpretation of contrastive topic but they occur in two separate Spec,CTopP positions as both *CORE* and *REM* are pronounced with rising intonation.[46,47] Besides the intonational properties of *CORE* and *REM*, the case marking on *REM* is also an indication of the split between the two ANP portions: it does not occur if the (fall)-rise intonational contour affects the full phrase composed of *CORE* and *REM* but the case ending shows up on *REM*, too, when there are multiple such intonations as in (22).

[46] In cases where a single, but complex phrase occupies Spec,CTopP, there is only one rising intonation (cf. (i)). On the other hand, in the case of multiple contrastive topics there are multiple rising intonations (cf. (ii)).

(i) [$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ /Egy szőke lányt egy kutyával] meg-látogatott Péter.
A blond girl.ACC a dog.INSTR PV.visited.3SG Peter
'Peter visited a blond girl with a dog.'

(ii) [$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ /Egy szőke lányt] [$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ /egy kutyával] meg-látogatott Péter.
a blond girl.ACC a dog.INSTR PV.visited.3SG Peter
'Peter visited a blond girl with a dog.'

[47] Examples (21) and (22) are not prototypical instances of split ANP constructions as they contain an uninverted split ANP. Nevertheless, they illustrate the point that even in an uninverted split ANP that looks like an unsplit one, it is the different information structural role of *CORE* and *REM* and not their inverted order that induces the split of the ANP. I do not deal with uninverted split ANP constructions like (21) and (22) as such constructions are very marginal.

(21) **[**$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ *REM* /**Zöldet]** **[**$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] vett Péter.
green.ACC car.ACC bought.3SG Peter
'Of green things Peter bought a CAR.'

(22) **[**$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ *REM* /**Zöld(*et)]** **[**$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**autót**] VETT Péter.
green.ACC car.ACC bought.3SG Peter
'Of green things, of cars, Peter indeed BOUGHT one.'

Finally, example (23) illustrates a split ANP configuration in which only *CORE* occupies a syntactic position with an information-structural interpretation, in this case focus. *REM* (i.e. *zöldet* 'green.ACC' remains in post-verbal position.

(23) **[**$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] vett Péter **[***REM* **zöldet]** .
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Peter bought a green CAR.'

In (24) and (25) I sum up the main characteristics of Hungarian unsplit and split ANPs, which will be relevant in the coming sections.

(24) *Characteristics of unsplit ANPs:*

- the adjective precedes the noun
- when case-marked, only the noun but not the adjective bears a case-ending
- the adjective and the noun occur in one and the same syntactic position (not necessarily an operator position)

(25) *Characteristics of split ANPs:*

- the adjective either precedes or follows the noun
- when case-marked, both the adjective and the noun bear a case ending
- the adjective and the noun occur in two distinct syntactic positions, at least one of which is an operator position (Spec,CTopP or Spec,FocP)

In the rest of this chapter I discuss the constructions in which split ANPs can occur.

3.3 THE CLASSIFICATION OF SPLIT ANP CONSTRUCTIONS

In this subsection I turn to the classification of split ANP constructions. This will provide the necessary background for the discussion of the characteristics of specific split ANP constructions in the next subsections.

The first issue to discuss is the order of the two subparts of a split ANP. In general, split ANPs may or may not be inverted (cf. section 3.2). In case both *CORE* and *REM* occur in preverbal position, *REM* can either precede or follow *CORE* (cf. (26) and (27)).

(26) **[**$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ *REM* /**Zöldet]** tegnap **[**$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] vett Péter.
green.ACC yesterday car.ACC bought.3SG Peter
'Of green things Peter bought a CAR yesterday.'

(27) **[**$_{\text{Spec,CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót]** tegnap **[**$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *REM* **ZÖLDET**] hozott haza Péter.
car.ACC yesterday green.ACC brought.3SG PV Peter
'Of cars Peter took home a GREEN one yesterday.'

In other words, in preverbal position we can find both uninverted (26) and inverted (27) split ANPs. These constructions contain a contrastively topicalized ANP portion (cf. *zöldet*

'green.ACC' in (26) and *autót* 'car.ACC' in (27)) and a focused one (cf. *autót* 'car.ACC' in (26) and *zöldet* 'green.ACC' in (27)). However, in cases where one ANP portion is fronted and the other one surfaces in postverbal position, only the inverted *CORE – REM* order is grammatical (cf. (28) and (29)). To put it in a different way, *REM* cannot be fronted independently of *CORE*.

(28) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Of cars Peter bought a green one.'

(29) * [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *REM* /**Zöldet**] vett Péter [*CORE* **autót**].
green.ACC bought.3SG Peter car.ACC
INTENDED: *'Of green things Peter bought a car.'*

To sum up, (30)-(32) schematically show the three ordering options that are possible between *CORE* and *REM* and (33) illustrates the ungrammatical order:

(30) [*REM*] [*CORE*] V

(31) [*CORE*] [*REM*] V

(32) [*CORE*] V [*REM*]

(33) *[*REM*] V [*CORE*]

Of the three possible types of ANP constructions I leave aside (30) and (31) and I further characterize *obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions*, i.e. the type shown in (32).
In obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions the position of *REM* is free. This follows from the free word order in the post-verbal domain in Hungarian (cf. 2.3.1), and is illustrated in (34).

(34) [*CORE* **Szoknyát**] vett <*REM* **zöldet**> Mari <*REM* **zöldet**> a vásárban
skirt.ACC bought.3SG green.ACC Mary green.ACC the sales.in
<*REM* **zöldet**>.
green.ACC
'Mary has bought a green skirt in the sales.'

The primary classification of obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions is, therefore, based on the syntactic position of *CORE*. The secondary classification is based on the presence versus absence of a clause boundary between the split ANP portions.

The *CORE* of the fronted ANP can occur in two preverbal positions in the clause: (a) in Spec,CTopP (cf. (35)) and (b) in Spec,FocP (cf.(36)).

(35) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Of cars Peter bought a green one.''

In (35) *CORE*, i.e. *autót* 'car.ACC' bears the (fall-)rise intonation typical of contrastive topics (cf. 2.3.2.1). It can also be followed by a resumptive pronoun, which is also a distinctive characteristic of contrastive topics (cf. 2.3.2.1).[48] The type of obligatorily inverted split ANP

[48] In my examples of split topicalization I mark all contrastive topics with a '/' diacritic indicating (fall-)rise intonation on the constituent immediately following it and with a resumptive pronoun after *CORE* (cf. (35)).

construction in which *CORE* appears in Spec,CTopP will be called ‘split topicalization’ in this dissertation. Given that in (35) the split ANP portions occur in the same clause, structures like this will be referred to as ‘short split topicalization’.

On the other hand, in (36) *autót* ‘car.ACC’ receives the main stress of the sentence. Moreover, it has an exhaustive interpretation typical of preverbally focused constituents (cf. 2.3.2.3).

(36) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
’Peter bought a green CAR.’

Obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions in which *CORE* occurs in Spec,FocP will be called ‘split focalization’ or ‘split focus constructions’ in this thesis. Given that in (36) the split ANP portions are found in the same clause, constructions like this will be labeled ‘short split focus constructions’ or ‘short split focalization’. To sum up, in obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions it is always the syntactic position of *CORE* that defines whether we are dealing with split topicalization or split focalization.

As mentioned above, ANPs can be split across clause boundaries, too. Example (37) illustrates split topicalization across a clause boundary. Such constructions will be called ‘long split topicalization’ throughout this thesis.

(37) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$*CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) mondta Péter hogy vett [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC said.3SG Peter that bought.3SG green.ACC
’Peter said that of cars he had bought a green one.’

Example (38) shows split focalization across a clause boundary. Constructions like this will be referred to as ‘long split focus constructions’ or ‘long split focalization’ in this dissertation.

(38) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] mondott Péter hogy vett [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC said.3SG Peter that bought green.ACC
’Peter said that he had bought a green CAR.’

Table 1 presents a summary of the classification of obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions introduced in this section:

Obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions		
Syntactic position of *CORE*	**Clause boundary between *CORE* and *REM***	**Label & abbreviation**
Contrastive topic	-	Short split topicalization (SST)
	+	Long split topicalization (LST)
Preverbal focus	-	Short split focalization (SSF)
	+	Long split focalization (LSF)

Table 1. Classification of obligatorily split ANP constructions in Hungarian

In the next three sections I focus on the properties of the various types of inverted split ANP constructions. In each case I contrast a number of syntactic characteristics of the four constructions introduced in this section. The constructions are contrasted in the following pairs:

However, in actual language use neither of them is obligatory as there exist other ways to mark contrastive topics (e.g. by means of contrastive particles, cf. section 2.3.2.1).

split topicalization versus split focalization in section 3.4.1; short split topicalization versus long split topicalization in section 3.4.2 and short split focalization versus long split focalization in section 3.4.3.

3.4 SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF OBLIGATORILY INVERTED SPLIT ANP CONSTRUCTIONS

3.4.1 SPLIT TOPICALIZATION VERSUS SPLIT FOCALIZATION

Recall from the previous section that in obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions it is the syntactic position of *CORE* that defines the syntactic properties of the construction. We have also seen that *CORE* can either occur as a contrastive topic or as a structural focus. As a consequence, differences between split topicalization and split focalization are expected due to the different syntactic characteristics of contrastive topics and structural foci.

In short split topicalization (39) and short split focalization (40) the different syntactic behaviour of the two constructions indeed follows directly from the difference between contrastive topics and structural foci.

(39) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Of cars Peter bought a green one.'

(40) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* ‘**AUTÓT**] (*azt) vett Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG Peter green.ACC
'Peter bought a green CAR.'

As mentioned above in section 3.3, there are differences in the stress/intonation pattern and the interpretation of the focused versus topicalized *CORE*. As also pointed out before, a resumptive pronoun can optionally occur after a contrastively topicalized (cf. (39)) but not after a focused phrase (cf. (40)). Finally, a focused *CORE*, like any preverbally focused constituent, triggers verb-preverb inversion (cf. (42)) while a contrastively topicalized *CORE*, like any contrastively topicalized constituent, does not (cf. (41)).[49]

(41) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) haza-hozott Péter [*REM* **egy** **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC PV.brought.3SG Peter a green.ACC
'Of cars Peter took home a green one.'

(42) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* ‘**AUTÓT**] (*azt) hozott haza Péter [*REM* **(egy)** **zöldet**].
car.ACC res.pro.ACC brought.3SG PV Peter a green.ACC
'Peter took home a green CAR.'

Long split topicalization and long split focalization, however, exhibit a number of further differences, which do not straightforwardly follow from the syntactic properties of contrastive topic and pre-verbal focus. In what follows I describe three syntactic differences between long split topicalization and long split focalization: (1) object definitess agreement in the matrix clause, (2) the possible case endings on *CORE* and (3) the compatibility of an accusative-marked

[49] As examples (41) and (42) show, *REM* requires the indefinite article if *CORE* is contrastively topicalized but not if *CORE* is focused. This remark does not hold for examples (39) and (40), in which the verb does not have a preverb. I do not deal with these complications as my point here is simply to show that *CORE* is topicalized in (41) and focused in (42).

clausal expletive with the two constructions. I also show that there is a correlation between the first two factors.

Example (43) illustrates long split topicalization. It shows that *CORE* cannot agree with the matrix verb in object definiteness, i.e. in spite of the fact that *CORE* bears accusative case and is indefinite, the matrix verb must occur in its definite form.

(43) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) hallott-ák/(*ak) hogy
car.ACC res.pro.ACC heard.3PL.**def**/indef that
[*REM* **zöldet**] vett.
green.ACC bought.3SG
'They heard that of cars he had bought a green one.'

Examples (44) and (45) are two instances of long split focalization. In example (44) the matrix verb agrees with *CORE* in object definiteness and in (45) it does not (cf. the definite form of the matrix verb occurs, while *CORE* is indefinite). Note that this is not a matter of free variation: in (44) *CORE* bears matrix (accusative) case while in (45) *CORE* bears embedded case (cf. *hall* 'hear' takes an accusative complement and *örül* 'be pleased' a dative one.)[50] In the former case object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the matrix verb is obligatory while in the latter case it is barred.[51]

(44) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT]** hallott-ø/-*a hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.ACC heard.3SG.**indef**/def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new CAR.'*

(45) [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *CORE* **AUTÓNAK]** hallott-*ø/-a hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.indef/**def** that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new CAR.'*

To summarize, the two properties of LSF just discussed show the following correlation: indefinite agreement correlates with a case ending on *CORE* that is assigned by the matrix verb (see (44)), while definite agreement correlates with a case ending that is determined by the embedded verb (see (45)). The former type will be referred to as mLSF (abbreviated as mLSF) and the latter eLSF (abbreviated as eLSF) in this dissertation. We thus arrive at the following classification of LSF structures:

	Case of *CORE*	**Object agreement on the matrix V**	**Case of *REM***
mLSF	Assigned by the matrix V	[+ agreement]	Assigned by the embedded V
eLSF	Assigned by the embedded V	[- agreement]	Assigned by the embedded V

Table 2. The two types of LSF with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

[50] (i) Jó hírt/*hírnek hallott Péter.
good news.**ACC/*DAT** heard.3SG.indef Peter
'Peter heard good news.'

(ii) Autónak/*Autót örült Péter.
car.**DAT/*ACC** was.3SG.pleased Peter
'Peter was pleased with a car.'

[51] In (45) object definiteness agreement is unavailable as only accusative-marked NomPs can agree in definiteness (cf. section 2.5.2). In (43) where both *CORE* and *REM* bear accusative case, however, it is only the lack of object definiteness agreement in the matrix clause that suggests the embedded case assignment of *CORE*.

As follows from the correlation shown in table 2, in mLSF the case of *CORE* and *REM* do not necessarily match (e.g. accusative vs. dative in (44)). On the other hand, with oblique-assigning matrix predicates LSF comes only in its matrix case version. This is illustrated in (46).

(46) **AUTÓ-RA/-*T** számított hogy **újat** kap.
car.ONTO/ACC counted.3SG.indef that new.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

In (46) the matrix verb assigns an oblique case and the embedded verb assigns accusative case but the long-focused phrase can only bear the oblique case. Object definiteness agreement cannot take place between *CORE* and the matrix verb as this type of agreement is not available between oblique-assigning verbs and their argument (i.e. the indefinite form of the matrix verb in (46) is its default form, see section 2.5.2). Table 3 summarizes the LSF pattern in cases where the matrix verb assigns an oblique case.

	Case of *CORE*	**Object agreement on the matrix V**	**Case of *REM***
mLSF	Assigned by the matrix V	n.a.	Assigned by the embedded V

Table 3. LSF with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

Note that a case mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* is not an option in long split topicalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb:

(47) *[$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) hallott-ák/ak hogy
car.ACC res.pro.ACC heard.3PL.def/indef that
[*REM* **zöldnek**] örülne.
green.DAT would.be.pleased.3SG
'They heard that he had bought a green car.'

The pattern concerning LST, which is based on examples (43) and (47) is summarized in table 4. 'eLST' stands for LST in which *CORE* bears embedded case.

	Case of *CORE*	**Object agreement on the matrix V**	**Case of *REM***
eLST	Assigned by the embedded V	[- agreement]	Assigned by the embedded V

Table 4. LST with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

However, when the matrix predicate assigns an oblique case, a case mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* may occur in split topicalization, too (cf. (48)). This follows from the fact that *CORE* can only bear matrix case in such constructions.

(48) [*CORE* /**Autó-ra/(*t)**] (arra) (tavaly) számított Péter hogy [*REM* **újat**]
car.ONTO/ACC res.pro.ONTO last.year counted.on.3SG Peter that new.ACC
kap.
receive.3SG
'Last year Peter expected to receive a new car.'

In (48) the matrix verb assigns an oblique case to *CORE*, which differs from the accusative assigned to *REM* by the embedded verb. Note that object definiteness agreement cannot take place in this case since only accusative-marked NomPs are eligible for this type of agreement

(cf. section 2.5.2). A summary of this pattern is shown in table 5. 'mLST' stands for LST in which *CORE* bears matrix case.

	Case of *CORE*	**Object agreement on the matrix V**	**Case of *REM***
mLST	Assigned by the matrix V	n.a.	Assigned by the embedded V

Table 5. LST with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

Next I turn to the compatibility of LST and LSF with a clausal expletive, which is normally optional in the construction underlying LSF and LUF (cf. EA, section 1.1).[52] An accusative-marked expletive can optionally be present in long split topicalization (cf. (49)). However, its distribution is restricted to positions following *CORE*.

(49) <*azt> [$_{Spec,\ CTopP}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] <azt> (tegnap) <AZT> mondta <azt>
expl.ACC car.ACC expl.ACC yesterday expl.ACC said.3SG expl.ACC
Péter hogy zöldet vett.
Peter that green.ACC bought.3SG
'Peter said that he had bought a green car.'

On the other hand, the clausal expletive cannot surface if the matrix verb takes an oblique case in LST (cf. (50)).

(50) <*arra> [$_{Spec,\ CTopP}$*CORE* /**Autóra**] <*arra> számítottak <*arra> hogy
expl.ONTO car.ONTO expl.ONTO counted.3PL.indef that.ONTO that
újat kapnak.
new.ACC get.3PL
'They expected that they would get a new car.'

In LSF, on the other hand, the clausal expletive cannot surface, neither in its 'matrix case' (cf. (51)) with an accusative assigning matrix verb and (52) with an oblique-assigning one), nor in its 'embedded case' variant (cf. (53) with a dative *CORE* and (54) with an accusative *CORE*).

(51) <*azt> [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE***AUTÓT]** <*azt> hallott <*azt> hogy [*REM* **újnak]**
expl.ACC car.ACC expl.ACC heard.3SG.**indef** expl.ACC that new.DAT
örülnének.
be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(52) <*arra> [$_{Spec,\ FocP}$*CORE* /**AUTÓRA**] számítottak <*arra> hogy
expl.ONTO car.ONTO counted.3PL.indef that.ONTO that
újat kapnak.
new.ACC get.3PL
'They expected that they would get a new CAR.'

(53) <*azt> [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓNAK]** <*azt> hallotta <*azt> hogy [*REM* **újnak]**
expl.ACC car.DAT expl.ACC heard.3SG.**def** expl.ACC that new.DAT
örülnének.
be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(54) <*azt> [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT]** <*azt> hallotta <*azt> hogy [*REM* **újat]**
expl.ACC car.ACC expl.ACC heard.3SG.**def** expl.ACC that new.ACC
vettek.
bought.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

[52] The structural relation between EA and long focus constructions will be described in detail in section 4.2.

Table 6 summarizes the differences between long split topicalization and long split focalization that were discussed in this section.

	LST	**LSF**
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the embedded verb	m LSF: assigned by the matrix verb
		eLSF: assigned by the embedded verb
Object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the matrix verb	no agreement	mLSF: agreement
		eLSF: no agreement
Optional presence of the clausal expletive	yes	no

Table 6. Differences between long split topicalization and long split focalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

Note that no differences were found in LSF and LST with oblique-assigning matrix verbs as far as the case of *CORE*, object definiteness agreement in the matrix clause, and the compatibility of the structure with a clausal expletive are concerned. The similarities between LSF and LST are summarized in table 7.

	LST	**LSF**
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the matrix verb	
Object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the matrix verb	n.a.	
Optional presence of the clausal expletive	no	

Table 7. Similarities between long split topicalization and long split focalization with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

In the next two sections topicalization and focalization are discussed separately and the basis of contrast is the distance between *CORE* and *REM* (i.e. whether *CORE* and *REM* occur in the same clause or are divided by a clause boundary). First the differences between short and long split topicalization are described.

3.4.2 SHORT VERSUS LONG SPLIT TOPICALIZATION

The common properties of short and long split topicalization originate from the common syntactic position of *CORE* in Spec,CTopP in both constructions. Therefore, as described in 3.3, *CORE* has the interpretation and the intonation pattern characteristic of contrastive topics (cf. 2.3.2.1) both in short (cf. (55)) and in long split topicalization (cf. (56)).

(55) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Szoknyát**] (azt) vett Mari [*REM* **zöldet**]
skirt.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG.indef Mary green.ACC
a vásárban.
the sale.in
'Mary has bought a green skirt in the sales.'Implied: e.g. '…but she didn't buy a green bag.'

(56) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Szoknyát**] (azt) mondta Mari hogy [*REM* **zöldet**]
skirt.ACC res.pro.ACC said.3SG.def Mary that green.ACC
vett a vásárban.
bought.3SG.indef the sale.in
'Mary said that she had bought a green skirt in the sales.'Implied: e.g. …'but she didn't say that she had bought a green bag.'

Also, *CORE* can be followed by a resumptive pronoun (cf. 2.3.2.1) in both constructions.

There are, however, two important syntactic differences between short and long cases of split topicalization in terms of (1) object definiteness agreement and (2) the case that *CORE* can bear. As noted in connection with the same two factors in section 3.3, there is a correlation between them.

In short split topicalization the verb agrees in definiteness both with the topicalized *CORE* and with the postverbal *REM*), as illustrated in the example below.

(57) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Szoknyát**] (azt) vett-ø/*e Mari [*REM* **zöldet**]
skirt.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG.**indef**/def Mary green.ACC
a vásárban.
the sale.in
'Mary has bought a green skirt in the sales.'

Although it is unclear whether the verb agrees with *CORE* or *REM* in (57) as both are indefinite, it is clear that the definite object agreement marker cannot appear on the verb. Without going into derivational details here, suffice it to say that I assume that the verb agrees with a continuous ANP at one point in the derivation and the topicalization of *CORE* is a subsequent operation.

On the other hand, in long split topicalization the accusative-assigning matrix verb does not agree with the accusative-marked *CORE* (cf. the matrix verb is in its definite form in (58) while *CORE* is indefinite).

(58) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) hallott-ák/(*ak) hogy [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *REM* **zöldet**]
car.ACC res.pro.ACC heard.3PL.**def./*indef** that green.ACC
vett.
bought.3SG
'They heard that he had bought a green car.'

Next I turn to the case properties of *CORE* in the two constructions. In short split topicalization *CORE* (just like *REM*) bears 'local case' (i.e. the case assigned to it by the verb of the same clause). As the verb *vett* 'bought' assigns accusative case, it is not surprising that we find the accusative case marker on both *CORE* and *REM* in (59).

(59) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Szoknyát**] (azt) vett-ø/*e Mari [*REM* **zöldet**]
skirt.ACC res.pro.ACC bought.3SG.**indef**/def Mary green.ACC
a vásárban.
the sale.in
'Mary has bought a green skirt in the sales.'

In long split topicalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb, however, *CORE* bears the case assigned by the embedded verb (cf. (60)).

(60) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$ *CORE* /**Autó-*t/-Autó-ra**] (azt) hallott-ák/(-ak) hogy [$_{\text{Spec,FocP}}$ *REM*
car.ACC/ONTO res.pro.ACC heard.3PL.def/indef that
zöldre] számít.
green.ONTO count.3SG
'They heard that he expects a green car.'

Recall from section 3.4.1 that if the matrix verb assigns an oblique case in LST, it is only this case that can appear on *CORE* and not the embedded case:

(61) [$_{\text{Spec, CTopP}}$*CORE* ˈ**Autó-ra/*-t**] (arra) számítottak hogy **újat** kapnak.
car.ONTO/ACC res.pro.ONTO counted.3PL that new.ACC get.3PL
'They expected that they would get a new car.'

In (61) the matrix verb *számít* 'count on' takes an oblique case while the embedded verb *kap* 'receive' takes the accusative. As the example shows, the accusative case is ungrammatical on *CORE*, which can only appear bearing the oblique case that the matrix verb assigns to it. As object definiteness agreement does not apply to oblique arguments, it cannot take place in (61) and the matrix verb is in its default indefinite form (cf. section 2.5.2). In other words, there is no difference between short split topicalization (cf. (59)) and long split topicalization in this respect provided the matrix verb assigns an oblique case.

Table 8 compares the properties of SST and LST with an accusative-assigning matrix verb and table 9 with an oblique-assigning matrix verb.

	Short split topicalization	**Long split topicalization**
Object definiteness agreement with *CORE*	agreement	no agreement
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the clause-mate verb (i.e. local case)	assigned by the embedded verb (i.e. non-local case)

Table 8. Comparison of short and long split ANP topicalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

	Short split topicalization	**Long split topicalization**
Object definiteness agreement with *CORE*	n.a.	
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the clause-mate verb (i.e. local case)	

Table 9. Comparison of short and long split ANP topicalization with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

Recall from section 3.3 that we found a correlation between the case of *CORE* and the object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and an accusative-assigning matrix verb in connection with long split topicalization and long split focalization. As table 8 shows, the same correlation can be established with respect to short and long split topicalization: local accusative case assignment goes together with object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the clause-mate verb while non-local case assignment of *CORE* correlates with the absence of object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the clause-mate verb.

3.4.3 SHORT VERSUS LONG SPLIT FOCALIZATION

Short and long split ANP focalization constructions share those properties that follow from the fact that both constructions contain a preverbally focused constituent (i.e. *CORE*). As explained in section 2.3.2.3, preverbally focused constituents receive an exhaustive interpretation, they bear the strongest stress in the clause and, provided the verb of their clause contains a preverb, they trigger verb-preverb inversion. Example (62) illustrates short split focalization and example (63) is an instance of long split focalization.

(62) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* ‘**AUTÓT**] <*el> adott <el> Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC PV gave.3SG.indef PV Peter green.ACC
’Peter sold a green CAR.’(… and a green bike.)*

(63) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* ‘**AUTÓT**] <*el>felejtette <el> Péter hogy [*REM* **zöldet**]
car.ACC PV forgot.3SG.def PV Peter that green.ACC
látott.
saw.3SG.indef
‘Peter forgot that he saw a green CAR.’(…and a green bike.)*

Next I turn to the differences between short and long split ANP focalization. Again, like in section 3.4.1 and section 3.4.2, it is the case of *CORE* and object definiteness agreement that are found to be different in the the two constructions. In short split ANP focalization the accusative-marked argument *CORE* (just like the post-verbal *REM*) agrees with the accusative-assigning verb of its clause in definiteness. This is shown in (64).

(64) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT**] vett-ø/(*-e) Péter [*REM* **zöldet**].
car.ACC bought.3SG.**indef/def** Peter green.ACC
’Peter bought a green car.’

However, in long split ANP focalization object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the matrix verb does (cf. (65)) or does not take place (cf. (66)), depending on the case of *CORE* (cf. section 3.4.1). If *CORE* bears matrix accusative case, object definiteness agreement is obligatory between *CORE* and the matrix verb (cf. (65)). If *CORE* bears the case assigned by the embedded verb, however, object definiteness agreement is barred (cf. (66)).

(65) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT]** hallott-ø/*-a hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.ACC heard.3SG.**indef/def** that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
’*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.’*

(66) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓNAK]** hallott-*ø/-a hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.**indef/def** that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
’*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.’*

In short split ANP focalization, as expected, *CORE* (as well as *REM*) always bears the case assigned to it by the verb of its clause. As in (67) the verb assigns dative case to its complement, naturally, *CORE* (and *REM*), must bear the dative case marker.

(67) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓNAK**] örült Péter [*REM* **újnak**].
car.DAT be.pleased.Past.3SG Peter new.DAT
‘Peter was pleased with a new car.’

With oblique-assigning matrix verbs, however, LSF comes in one type only, as shown in section 3.4.1.

Table 10 summarizes the properties of short and long split ANP focalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb and table 11 with an oblique-assigning one.

	Short split focalization	**Long split focalization**
Definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb	agreement	mLSF: agreement
		eLSF: no agreement
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the clause-mate verb (i.e. local case)	mLSF: assigned by the matrix verb (i.e. local case)
		e LSF: assigned by the embedded verb (i.e. non-local case)

Table 10. Properties of short and long split ANP focalization with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

	Short split focalization	**Long split focalization**
Definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb	n.a.	
Case of *CORE*	assigned by the clause-mate verb (i.e. local case)	

Table 11. Properties of short and long split ANP focalization with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

Note that the correlation between case assignment and definiteness agreement from section 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 also holds in the context of short versus long split focalization.

3.4.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter split ANPs have been compared to unsplit ANPs. I have shown that ANPs split for information structural reasons, i.e. when either *CORE* or *REM* receives a discourse functional role that the ANP constituent as a whole is not associated with. Based on whether *CORE* and *REM* both appear in the preverbal domain or only *CORE* does, we distinguished split ANP constructions in which the inversion of *CORE* and *REM* is optional from those in which it is obligatory. Obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions (i.e. those in which *CORE* occupies a preverbal position and *REM* a postverbal one) have been divided into four types. This classification was based on the syntactic positon of *CORE* (in Spec,CTopP or in Spec,FocP) and on whether or not *CORE* and *REM* surface in the same clause. The resulting four constructions, i.e. short split topicalization, short split focalization, long split topicalization and long split focalization were compared with respect to two factors: the case properties of *CORE* and the presence/absence of object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb. Table 12 is a summary of the classification of split ANP constructions with an accusative-assigning matrix verb, which were presented in this chapter.

	Obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions			
	Short		**Long**	
	topicalization	**focalization**	**topicalization**	**focalization**
Object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb	agreement	agreement	no agreement	mLSF: agreement
				eLSF: no agreement
Case of *CORE*	local case	local case	non-local case	m LSF: local case
				eLSF: non-local case

Table 12. Classification of obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions with an accusative-assigning matrix verb

Table 12 shows that in all four constructions local case assignment of *CORE* goes together with object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb. Non-local case assignment of *CORE*, on the other hand, goes together with the absence of object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb. Long split focalization is unique among the four ANP constructions discussed in this chapter in that it comes in two types. The remaining three obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions (with an accusative-assigning matrix verb) come in just one of the two types.

I have also shown that in split ANP constructions in which the matrix verb assigns an oblique case to its complement, we do not find the contrast between long split topicalization (cf. (68)) and long split focalization (cf. (69)) shown in table 12, since in both constructions *CORE* must bear 'local' (i.e. matrix oblique) case even if this case is different from that of *REM*.

(68) [*CORE* /**Autóra**] számított Péter hogy [*REM* **újat**] kap.
car.ONTO counted.on.3SG Peter that new.ACC receive.3SG
'Peter expected to receive a new car.'

(69) [*CORE* **AUTÓRA**] számított Péter hogy [*REM* **újat**] kap.
car.ONTO counted.on.3SG Peter that new.ACC receive.3SG
'Peter expected to receive a new CAR.'

The main characteristics of obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions with an oblique-assigning matrix verb are summarized in table 13.

	Obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions			
	Short		**Long**	
	topicalization	**focalization**	**topicalization**	**focalization**
Object definiteness agreement between *CORE* and its clause-mate verb	n.a.			
Case of *CORE*	local case			

Table 13. Classification of obligatorily inverted split ANP constructions with an oblique-assigning matrix verb

Table 13 shows that there is no difference between topicalization and focalization with respect to object definiteness agreement and the case of *CORE* in cases where the matrix verb assigns an oblique case: *CORE* must bear matrix case and object definiteness agreement cannot take place in the matrix clause.

Given that LSF is the central topic of this dissertation, this structure will be further described and analyzed in the following chapters.

4 LONG FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS IN HUNGARIAN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter gave an overview of the characteristics of split ANP constructions in Hungarian, one of which (i.e. LSF) is the central topic of this dissertation. Certain characteristics of LSF were described and contrasted with other split ANP constructions. The aim of this chapter is to describe LSF in the context of two other, related constructions, namely expletive-associates (cf. EA, introduced in section 1.1) and long *unsplit* focus constructions (cf. LUF, introduced in section 1.1) An example of LUF is shown (1).

(1) **PIROS RÓZSÁT** mondott hogy kapott.
red rose.ACC said.3SG.indef that got.3SG
'(S)he's said that (s)he got a RED ROSE.'

I will show that all three these constructions can be used for focusing a constituent which belongs to the embedded clause. Section 4.2 describes the basic properties of LUF, EA, and the correlation between EA, LSF and LUF. In section 4.3 I investigate the nature of the long-focused element in the two long focus constructions (i.e. LSF and LUF) and I compare them in this respect.

Sections 4.5 and 4.6 are organized in a parallel way so as to allow a direct comparison between LSF and LUF. They investigate the compatibility of the two main types of LSF and LUF with resumptive pronouns and with number mismatch, depending on whether long-focusing takes place from an object clause (sections 4.5.2 and 4.6.2) or from an oblique complement clause (sections 4.5.3 and 4.6.3).[53] Section 4.7 concludes the chapter. [54,55]

[53] LSF was shown to come in two main types based on the case of *CORE* (i.e. mLSF and eLSF) in section 3.4.1. LUF will be shown to also come in two types, i.e. mLUF and and eLUF in section 4.2.2.

[54] The data presentation in this chapter covers cases in which long focus fronting takes place from object and oblique complement clauses. However, long focus constructions involving subject clauses will not be discussed. The reason for this is that long focus fronting from subject clauses is too marginal both for LSF (cf. (i)) and LUF (cf. Lipták 1998).

(i) ?? **AUTÓ-ø** nyilvánvaló hogy **új-ø** áll a kapu előtt.
car.NOM obvious that new.NOM stand.3SG the gate in.front.of
'It is obvious that a new CAR is standing in front of the gate.'

[55] The judgments presented in this chapter are based on the informal testing of four informants with linguistic background from North-Eastern Hungary. The results of two large-scale surveys carried out among native speakers from the same region will be presented in Chapter 7.

4.2 LONG FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR CORRELATE IN STANDARD HUNGARIAN

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

As pointed out in section 1.1, the expletive-associate construction (EA, cf. (2)) is claimed to be the underlying structure of LUF in various analyses (É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010), as well as in my analysis of LSF.

(2) Azt mondta hogy új autót vett.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

The main characteristics of LSF have already been introduced in Chapter 3. In section 4.2.2 I describe the most important properties of LUF and argue that LUF, just like LSF, comes in two main types. In section 4.2.3 I introduce the main syntactic characteristics of EA and in section 4.2.4 I describe the correlation between long focus constructions and EA.

4.2.2 LONG FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS: THE BASIC DATA

As mentioned in section 1.1, long focus constructions come in two forms which differ in whether the constituent fronted to the focus position of the matrix clause is a full phrase (3) or just a subpart (4). Long focus constructions, both LUF (2) and LSF (3), are part of spoken, colloquial or non-standard Hungarian.[56]

(3) **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
new car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'

(4) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

LSF has been described in Chapter 3. This construction has not been analyzed in the Hungarian generative literature so far. LUF, on the other hand, has been discussed extensively in the past decades (cf. É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010, among others). LUF is known in the Hungarian descriptive linguistic literature under the term sentence intertwining (cf. Zolnay 1926, É. Kiss 1979) and in the generative literature as long operator movement. In what follows I show that LUF, just like LSF, comes in two main types, based on case and agreement facts.

Nominative-accusative case mismatch is the only one that was discussed in the Hungarian literature on LUF (cf. É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010).[57] Other possible types of case mismatch, like nominative-oblique or accusative-oblique ones (cf. section 5.1) have not been analyzed in the literature.

[56] I base this statement on my test results, according to which EA received better scores than LUF and LSF (cf. section 7.2.2).

[57] When I indicate the type of case mismatch, the first case refers to the case of the NomP in the embedded clause and the second one to the case of the same NomP in the matrix clause.

The fact that subjects do not need to retain their nominative case when long-focused from the embedded clause into the matrix clause is a well-known characteristic of Hungarian LUF constructions (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010). The 'case switch' of subjects from nominative to accusative (cf. (5)) has been extensively studied in the literature on LUF (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010).[58] In fact, this variant is claimed to be more widely accepted than the variant with nominative case (cf. (6)) in the existing literature (cf. Gervain 2007).

(5) **AUTÓ-T** mond-ott/-*ta hogy e_{NOM} áll a kapunál.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef/def that stand.3SG the gate.AT
'He said that there was a CAR standing at the gate.'

(6) **AUTÓ-ø** mond-*ott/-ta hogy e_{NOM} áll a kapunál.
car.NOM said.3SG.indef/def that stand.3SG the gate.AT
'He said that there was a CAR standing at the gate.'

In example (5) the embedded subject, when fronted into the matrix clause, receives accusative case, suggesting that it gets case-marked in the matrix clause. The object agreement marker on the matrix verb is indefinite, suggesting that agreement has taken place between the indefinite fronted NomP and the matrix verb. In example (6), on the other hand, the embedded subject retains nominative case when it is fronted into the focus position of the matrix clause, suggesting that it checks case in the embedded clause. The matrix verb bears the object definiteness agreement marker, but it does not agree with the long-focused NomP for two reasons: definiteness agreement independently only targets accusative-marked NomPs (cf. section 2.5.2), and definiteness agreement cannot take place when the long-focused NomP bears non-local case (even if this case is accusative, cf. section 3.4). This is exactly the correlation between matrix case marking and matrix definiteness agreement that we have seen in the case of LSF in section 3.4.1.[59] As clear from the description above, the case of the long-focused constituent divides LUF structures into two types. This is exactly the same classification as that of LSF structures (cf. section 3.4.3).

To sum up, just like LSF (cf. section 3.4), LUF also comes in two main types when it comes to the case marking of the long-focused constituent. Similarly to the labels used for the corresponding LSF structures, the type of LUF in which the long-focused NomP bears matrix case will be called mLUF and the type of LUF in which it bears embedded case will be referred to as eLUF throughout this thesis. Note that the agreement options between the matrix verb and the long-focused constituent in the two types of LUF are the same as in the two types of LSF: in the mLUF agreement must take place whenever it is an option (i.e. the matrix verb assigns accusative case to the long-focused NomP (e.g. (5)) and if it is not an option (i.e. the matrix verb assigns an oblique case), the matrix verb is in its indefinite form (cf. section 3.4). On the other hand, in the eLUF object definiteness agreement is never available because the long-focused NomP bears non-local case (cf. section 3.4). In these cases the matrix verb is always in its definite form (cf. (6)).

In section 4.2.3 I introduce EA and in section 4.2.4 I describe the correlation between long focus constructions and EA.

[58] In my presentation of the examples of LUF I use *'e'* to mark the assumed position of the long-focused constituent in the embedded clause and I use a subscript to indicate the case of this constituent in the embedded clause (e.g. (5) and (6)).
[59] The case-agreement correlation in long subject focus fronting has been described in Den Dikken (2006, 2010).

4.2.3 EXPLETIVE-ASSOCIATE CONSTRUCTIONS IN HUNGARIAN

The expletive-associate construction is a common structure in Hungarian grammar. In its most typical incarnation it contains an expletive (*azt* in (7)) in a preverbal position that is associated with a clausal complement introduced by the complementizer *hogy* 'that' (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

(7) Azt mondta hogy új autót vett.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3Sg.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

In EA with an accusative-assigning matrix verb the matrix verb is always in its definite form (cf. (7)). Matrix verbs that take an oblique complement (cf. (8)) are always in their indefinite form (i.e. these types of verbs cannot establish object definiteness agreement with their (oblique) complement, see section 2.5.2).

(8) *(Arra) számított hogy esni fog.
expl.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that fall.inf will.3SG
(S)he expected that it would be raining.'

The expletive, which is formally a demonstrative pronoun, can occur in each of the preverbal projections, i.e. in Spec,TopP (9), Spec,CTopP (10), Spec,DistQP (11), Spec,FocP (12), Spec,AspP (13). It receives the case that would normally be assigned to the embedded clause and occupies the structural position associated with the discourse function of that clause.

(9) [$_{Spec,TopP}$ Azt] hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak.
expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL
'They advertised that they had opened a bio shop.'

(10) [$_{Spec,CTopP}$ /Azt] hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak, de azt nem
expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL but expl.ACC not
hogy kocsmát is.
that pub.ACC too
'They advertised that they had opened a bio shop but not that they had opened a pub, too.'

(11) [$_{Spec,DistQP}$ Azt is] hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak.
expl.ACC too advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL
They also advertised that they had opened a bio shop.'

(12) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ Csak azt] hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak.
only expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL
'They only advertised that they had opened a bio shop.'

(13) [$_{Spec,AspP}$ Azt] hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak és hogy
expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL and that
mindent féláron adnak.[60]

[60] Note that (i) is a logical consequence of (13). As both (i) and (13) can be true at the same time, (13) cannot be associated with exhaustive identification. Therefore, the complex consisting of the expletive and the associate clauses in (13) cannot be in focus (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

(i) Azt hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak.
expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL
'They have advertised/have been advertising that they had opened a bio shop.'

The question arises how to differentiate an expletive in topic position from one occupying Spec,AspP. Note that the expletive in (13) can be preceded by a quantified phrase (i.e. *minden nap* 'every day'). As topics must precede QPs (cf. section 2.3.1), the expletive in (ii) cannot occupy a topic position.

everything.ACC half.price.ON give3PL
'They have advertised that they opened a bio shop and that they sell everything at half price.'

The expletive pronoun associated with the clause can also appear post-verbally, that is, within the VP. In postverbal positions a nominative or accusative expletive can always be dropped (cf. (14) and (15) and see also Kenesei 1992, 1994).

(14) Nem zavar (az) hogy csörög a telefon ?
not disturb.3SG.indef expl.NOM that ring.3SG the phone
'Doesn't it disturb you that the phone is ringing ?'

(15) Látta (azt) hogy nincs értelme maradnia.
saw.3SG.def. expl.ACC that not.is sense.Poss.3SG. stay.inf.3SG
'He saw it was pointless to stay.'

The complementizer introducing the embedded clause (i.e. *hogy* 'that') can also be typically dropped, but not when the matrix clause contains a focus.[61] In other words, if any constituent in the matrix clause is focused, the complementizer must surface (cf. (16) and (17)).

(16) Tegnap Maritól azt hallottam, (hogy) új autót vesztek.
yesterday Mary.from expl.ACC heard.1SG.def that new car.ACC buy.2PL.indef
'Yesterday I heard from Mary that you were going to buy a new car.'

(17) Azt MARITÓL/TEGNAP hallottam, *(hogy) új autót vesztek.
expl.ACC Mary.from/yesterday heard.1SG.def that new car.ACC buy.2PL.indef
'I heard FROM MARY/YESTERDAY that you were going to buy a new car.'

The structure of EA is not yet fully understood in the previous literature. According to Kenesei's (1992, 1994) 'expletive-associate chain' theory the matrix verb takes an NP complement that consists of an expletive plus an associated clause but he does not give details of the nature of this chain. The expletive and its associate clause are linked by coindexing in his theory. He assumes that the matrix verb assigns case but no theta role to the expletive while it assigns a theta role but no case to the embedded CP. Kenesei (1992, 1994) assumes that the expletive is a kind of DP that can only receive case but not a theta role. He also claims that it can only be present in structures in which it forms a chain with a constituent that was assigned a theta role but not a case (i.e. the embedded CP in EA, Kenesei 1992: 604). As clear from his account, the expletive is not a thematic argument of the matrix verb.

On the other hand, according to a number of other theories the expletive in EA is a thematic argument of the matrix verb. Laczkó and Rákosi (2005) claim that the accusative-marked expletive is a thematic argument of the matrix verb (i.e. a real demonstrative pronoun) because the expletive *azt* 'that.ACC' can be replaced by *ezt* 'this.ACC' in certain discourse contexts (cf. (18)).

(ii) Minden nap azt hirdették hogy bioboltot nyitottak és hogy
every day expl.ACC advertised.3PL that bio.shop.ACC opened.3PL and that
mindent féláron adnak.
everything.ACC half.price.ON give3PL
'Every day they advertised that they opened a bio shop and that they sell everything at half price.'

[61] For more detailed discussion of (restrictions on) the omission of the expletive and the complementizer see Kenesei (1992, 1994).

(18) A: Én még várnék, de szerintem ő nem akar.
I still wait.Cond.1SG but according.to.1SG he not want.3SG.indef
'I would still wait but I don't think he wants to.'

B: Pedig ő is **ezt** mondta, hogy várjunk még.
Particle he also this.ACC said.3SG.def that wait.Imp.1PL still
'But he also said that we should still wait.'

Szűcs (2012) supports this view with data in which verbs that typically function as matrix verbs in EA like *mond* 'say' and *ígér* 'promise' in example (19) (i.e. bridge verbs, see É. Kiss 2002) can take a thematic object (cf. (20) and (21)).

(19) **Azt** mondta/ígérte Béla, hogy visszahozza a sálam.
expl.ACC said/promised.3SG.def Béla that PV.bring.3SG.def the scarf.Poss.1SG
'Béla said/promised that he would bring back my scarf.'

(20) Az időjárásjelentésben **vihart** mondtak holnapra.
the weather.forecast.IN storm.ACC said.3PL.indef tomorrow.ONTO
'The weather forecast predicted storms for tomorrow.'

(21) A bankok **nagy** **nyereséget** ígértek az embereknek.
the banks big profit.ACC promised.3PL the people.DAT
'The banks promised a big profit to the people.'

(Szűcs 2012: 264, examples (20) and (21))

I will return to expletive- and complemetizer drop and to the syntactic role of the expletive in light of my analysis in section 6.3. In the next section I focus on the structural relation between EA and long focus constructions.

4.2.4 Correlation between long focus constructions and EA

In this section I outline some aspects of the relation between long focus constructions and their standard Hungarian counterpart.

In EA the embedded clause is always an argument of the matrix verb (in (22) a direct object, cf. É. Kiss 2002).[62]

(22) **AZT** mondta hogy **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** vett.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'

Note that the complement clause is introduced by a clausal expletive *azt*. As (22) shows, the complement of the embedded verb is focused. In cases where the embedded clause contains a focused phrase, this phrase receives an exhaustive interpretation and the sentence can be translated as follows: *'He said that what he had bought is a new car'.* A similar meaning can be expressed by fronting the embedded focused phrase into the matrix clause. This construction is an instance of LUF:

(23) **(***Azt) **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
Expl.ACC new car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'

[62] Adjunct clauses cannot have an EA version (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

The focused complement of the embedded verb in (22) surfaces in the focus position of the matrix clause in (23). This sentence can be translated as follows: '*What he said he had bought is a new car'*.[63] Moreover, the clausal expletive in (22) cannot co-occur with the long-focused phrase in (23).

It is also possible, however, to focus only part of a phrase, as in (24):

(24) **Azt** mondta hogy új **'AUTÓT** vett.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

The interpretation of this sentence is the following: *'He said that the new thing he had bought is a CAR'*, where only *CORE* (i.e. *autót* 'car') receives an exhaustive interpretation. Its adjective *új* 'new' has the status of old information. The non-standard correlate of (24) is the following instance of LSF:

(25) (*Azt) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
expl.ACC car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

Note that the focused *CORE* of the embedded NomP complement in (24) is situated in the focus position of the matrix clause in (25) without its adjective. Just as in the case of LUF, the clausal expletive is barred in LSF, too. As for the interpretation of LSF, example (25) can be translated as follows: *'The new thing he said he had bought is a CAR'*.[64]

Moreover, long focus constructions can only be formed if the structure has an EA counterpart. This suggests a structural relation between EA and long focus constructions. Example (26) shows a construction similar to (24) but with a matrix verb (*szól* 'say'/'let somebody know'), which is not compatible with the clausal expletive. As a consequence, there is neither a LUF (cf. (27)) nor an LSF (cf. (28)) version of this example.[65]

(26) Pista (*azt) szólt-ø/(*-a) hogy **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** vett.
Pista expl.ACC said.3SG.indef/def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'Pista said that he had bought a NEW CAR.'

(27) ***ÚJ** **AUTÓT** szólt-ø/-a hogy vett.
new car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
INTENDED: *'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'*

(28) ***AUTÓT** szólt-ø/-a hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
INTENDED: *'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'*

There is a further property of LSF and LUF that they share with EA: the complementizer, which is normally optional in EA, cannot be dropped in the presence of preverbal focus in EA (cf. (29)) as also pointed out in section 4.2.3. As long focus constructions contain a preverbally focused element, the complementizer cannot be omitted in LSF (cf. (30)) or in LUF (cf. (31)), either.

[63] Note that (22) and (23) differ in the scope of the focus: in (22) *új autót* 'new car' does not receive matrix scope while in (23) it does.
[64] Note that in (24) *autót* 'car' has embedded scope while in (25) it has matrix scope.
[65] I discuss these facts in light of my analysis of LSF in Chapter 6.

(29) Azt **MARI** mesélte *(hogy) új autót vett.
expl.ACC Mary told.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'MARY said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

(30) **AUTÓT** mondott *(hogy) **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

(31) **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** mondott *(hogy) vett.
new car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'

To summarize, in this section I have shown that long focusing, a mechanism used in non-standard Hungarian, affects the focused portion of an embedded NomP argument or adjunct in the corresponding standard expletive-associate construction. In cases where the full embedded NomP is focused in EA (cf. (22)), the output of long focus fronting is a long unsplit focus construction, i.e. LUF as in (23). If, however, only the *CORE* of the embedded NomP is focused in the corresponding EA (cf. (24)), the non-standard variant is a long split focus construction (LSF) as in (25). Furthermore, the expletive that is normally present in EA cannot occur in LSF and LUF, and in none of the three constructions the (otherwise optional) complementizer can be dropped.

In the next section I draw a further parallel between the two long focus constructions and I show that the same types of phrases can be long-focused in both constructions.

4.3 THE LONG-FOCUSED PHRASE IN LSF AND LUF

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section I compare the type, category and syntactic role of the long-focused constituent in LSF and LUF. Section 4.3.2 describes the properties of the long focused phrase in LSF and section 4.3.3 in LUF. In section 4.3.4 I conclude that there is a close similarity between the phrases that can be long-focused in LSF and LUF.

4.3.2 THE LONG-FOCUSED PHRASE IN LSF

Chapter 3 has already introduced a number of split NomPs in Hungarian (e.g. split ANPs like (32). In this section I show which other phrases can also be split in this language.

I take case-marked NomPs to be of the type DP, NumP or NP embedded in a Kase phrase (cf. section 2.4). In the same vein, I analyze pre- and postpositional phrases as NomPs dominated by a Kase phrase in this dissertation (cf. Caha 2009).

(32) **AUTÓ-NAK** hallotta hogy **új-nak** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new CAR.'*

VPs can be split and long-focused in Hungarian:

(33) **VEZETNI** mondta hogy nem fog **meg-próbálni.**
drive.inf said.3SG.def that not will.3SG PV.try.inf
'He said that he wouldn't try to drive.'

Subparts of APs and AdvPs cannot be long-focused in Hungarian (cf. (34) and (35)).

(34) ***OKOS** mondta hogy nagyon Péter.
clever said.3SG.def that very Peter
INTENDED: *'He's said that Peter is very CLEVER.'*

(35) ***NAGYON** mondta hogy kedvesen hívták.
very said.3SG.def that kindly invited.3PL
INTENDED: *'He's said that he was invited VERY kindly.'*

To sum up, only NomPs and VPs can undergo partial long focus fronting in Hungarian. The next section investigates the categorial nature of the partially long-focused NomP.

In Chapter 3 I introduced LSF containing split ANPs. However, it is important to mention that other kinds of NomPs can also be split and undergo long focus fronting in Hungarian.

Section 2.4 gave a description of the types of NomPs standardly differentiated in Hungarian (cf. NP, NumP, DP) and QP was introduced in section 2.3.2.2. In what follows I turn to the question which of these can be subject to long split focus fronting.

NPs (which include ANPs, cf. (36)) and NumPs (cf. (37)) can be split in Hungarian and they can also be long-focused.

(36) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

(37) **EGY/KÉT** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
a/two car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR/TWO new CARS.'

QPs containing a universal quantifier or an existential quantifier cannot undergo long split focus fronting (cf. (38) and (39)). However, QPs that contain a positive existential quantifier like *több mint n* 'more than n', *legalább n* 'at least n' (cf. É. Kiss 2002) can (cf. (40)).

(38) ***MINDEN** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
every car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef

(39) ***VALAMENNYI** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
some/a.number.of car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef

(40) **LEGALÁBB** **HÁROM** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
at.least three car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought AT LEAST THREE new CARS.'

We find the same pattern when the quantifier is stranded together with the adjective in the embedded clause (cf. (41)-(43)).

(41) ***AUTÓT** mondott hogy **minden** **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that every new.ACC bought.3SG.indef

(42) ***** **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **valamennyi** **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that some/a number of new.ACC bought.3SG.indef

(43) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **legalább** **három** **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that at.least three new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought AT LEAST THREE new CARS.'

On the other hand, DPs, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, cannot be split. As follows from this, they cannot be subject to long split focus fronting (cf. (44)).

(44) *__AZ__ __AUTÓT__ mondta Péter hogy __zöldet__ lát-ott/-ta.
the car.ACC said.3SG.def Peter that green.ACC saw.3SG.indef/def

The definite determiner cannot be stranded, either:

(45) *__AUTÓT__ mondta Péter hogy a __zöldet__ lát-ott/-ta.
car.ACC said.3SG.def Peter that the green.ACC saw.3SG.indef/def

To sum up, NPs, NumPs and QPs containing a positive existential quantifier can split and can undergo long focus fronting. QPs that contain a universal or an existential quantifier (except for positive existential quantifiers) and DPs cannot be subject to this operation.

4.3.3 THE LONG-FOCUSED PHRASE IN LUF

In this section I show which types of constituents can undergo long focus fronting. Subject (cf. (46)) and object NomPs (cf. (47)) can equally be long-focused.

(46) __ÖT__ __GYEREK__ mondtad hogy kér ebédet.
five child said.2SG that ask.for.3SG lunch.ACC
'You've said that FIVE CHILDREN have registered for lunch.'

(47) __EBÉDET__ mondtad hogy öt gyerek kér.
lunch.ACC said.2SG that five child ask.for.3SG
'You've said that five children have registered for LUNCH.'

Complements bearing an oblique case (cf. (48)) and adjuncts (cf. (49)) including postpositional phrases (cf. (50)) can be long-focused, too.[66]

(48) __AZ INTERJÚRA__ mondta Mari hogy fel-készült.
the interview.ONTO said.3SG Mary that PV.prepared.3SG
'Mary said that (s)he had prepared for the interview.'

(49) __TEGNAP__ mondta hogy cigiztek a lányok.
yesterday said.3SG that smoked.3PL the girl.PL
'(S)he's said that the girls were smoking YESTERDAY.'

(50) __A HÁZ MÖGÖTT__ mondta hogy cigiztek a lányok.
the house behind said that smoked.3PL the girl.PL
'(S)he's said that the girls were smoking BEHIND THE HOUSE.'

[66] Although *tegnap* 'yesterday' does not seem to be a NomP at first sight, note that it can be case-marked, which is a characteristic of nominals (cf. (i)). Therefore, I assume that it is a NomP, similarly to e.g. *reggel* 'morning', *este* 'evening', *holnap* 'tomorrow', *hétfő* 'Monday', *múlt hét* 'last week', etc., which can also be case-marked.

(i) __Tegnapra__ lett kész a személyim.
yesterday.ONTO became.3SG ready the ID.Poss.1SG
'My ID had been issued by yesterday.'

VPs can also be subject to long focus fronting (cf. (51)).

(51) **VEZETNI** mondta Mari hogy fog
drive.inf said.3SG.def Mary that will.3SG.indef
'Mary said that she would DRIVE:'

On the other hand, APs (cf. (52)) and AdvPs (cf. (53)) cannot be long-focused.[67]

(52) ***FIATAL** mondta hogy volt az igazgató.
young said.3SG that was the director
'(S)he's said that the director was YOUNG.'

(53) ***KÖNNYEN** mondta hogy el-alszik.
easily said.3SG that PV.sleep.3SG
'(S)he's said that (s)he falls asleep EASILY.'

To sum up, only NomPs and VPs can be long-focused, irrespectively of whether they are an argument or an adjunct in the embedded clause.

Next I turn to the question of the categorial nature of the long-focused NomP. As illustrated below, the long-focused NomP can occur as a bare phrase (cf. (54)), it can be preceded by the indefinite article and by numerals (cf. (55)), by the definite article (cf. (56)) and it can be quantified (cf. (57)).

(54) **(ZÖLD) AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
green car.ACC said.3SG. that bought.3SG.indef.
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a (GREEN) CAR.'

(55) **EGY/KÉT ZÖLD AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
a/two green car.ACC said.3SG. that bought.3SG.indef.
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought A GREEN CAR/TWO GREEN CARS.'

(56) **A ZÖLD AUTÓT** mondta hogy megvette.
the green car.ACC said.3SG. that bought.3SG.def.
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought THE GREEN CAR.'

(57) **LEGALÁBB HÁROM ZÖLD AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
at.least three green car.ACC said.3SG that bought.3SG.indef.
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought (at least) THREE GREEN CARS.'

Like in the case of LSF, not all QPs are suitable for long focus fronting: QPs containing a universal quantifier or an existential quantifier (except for positive existential quantifiers like the one in (57) cannot be long-focused (cf. (58)).[68]

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[67] AdvPs can also be long-focused provided the matrix predicate has a modal meaning (which also goes together with a subjunctive or conditional verb form in the embedded clause).

(i) **KÖNNYEN** szeretném ha el-aludna.
easily would.like.1SG.def if PV.sleep.Cond.3SG
'I'd like him/her to fall asleep EASILY.'

Such long focus constructions, however, are outside the scope of this dissertation for the reasons described in Chapter 9.

[68] Surányi (2003) argues that they cannot be long-topicalized, either.

(58) ***MINDEN/VALAMENNYI AUTÓT** mondott hogy vett.
every/a.number.of car.ACC said.3SG that bought.3SG.indef.
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought EVERY CAR/A NUMBER OF CARS.'

As the above examples show, all kinds of NomPs, i.e. NPs, NumPs, DPs can undergo long focus fronting while only QPs containing positive existential quantifiers can be long-focused.

4.3.4 SUMMARY

In this section I compared the phrases that can be long focus fronted in LSF and LUF. Concerning the type of phrase, I found that NomPs, VPs and QPs can be long focus fronted in both constructions while APs, AdvPs cannot. Of phrases of the category NomP DPs, NumPs and NPs can undergo long focus fronting in LUF and NumPs and DPs in LSF. Note that this difference can be traced back to the impossibility of DP-split (cf. Chapter 3). In both constructions QPs containing positive existential quantifiers are subject to long focus fronting while QPs containing other quantifiers cannot.

To conclude, phrases to be long-focused are of the same type and category in LSF and in LUF. Long-focused phrases in LSF have an additional restriction in that DPs cannot be split.

4.4 RESUMPTIVE INSERTION AND NUMBER MISMATCH IN LSF AND LUF

In the rest of this chapter LSF and LUF will be investigated in several syntactic contexts, which can potentially reveal whether there is a derivational difference between the two main types of LSF and LUF. In one of these contexts a resumptive pronoun (formally a demonstrative) is inserted in the embedded clause (cf. (59)). In the other context the grammatical number of the embedded constituent is different from that of the matrix constituent (cf. (60)). As a basic guiding principle, I assume that the possibility of resumptive insertion and number mismatch in LSF and LUF suggests a base-geneartion derivation of the given structure (cf. Merchant 2004) while the lack of it suggests a long-distance movement derivation (cf. Chapter 6).

(59) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **az-t** (**új-at**) kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

(60) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-at** **(új-ak-at)** kap.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.**PL**.ACC new.PL.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get some (new) CARS.'

Here I summarize the general properties of these two contexts as these properties hold for all the relevant examples of this chapter. In later sections these general properties will not be pointed out again.

First I turn to the syntactic position of the resumptive pronoun. Its antecedent is always the long-focused phrase in the matrix clause. It can only occupy a preverbal position both in LSF (cf. (61)) and in LUF (cf. (63)). More specifically, it can occur in Spec,CTopP and in Spec,FocP in LSF cf. (62) and in LUF (cf. (63) and (64)).

(61) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy <ˈ**azt**> (viszont) **új-at** < ***azt**> kap
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC particle new.ACC res.pro.ACC get.3SG < ***azt**>.
res.pro.ACC
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

(62) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy <**AZT**> hoz haza **új-at**.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC bring.3SG.indef PV new.ACC
'He has expected to take home a new CAR.'

In (61) the embedded pronoun in preverbal position is a contrastive topic. This is clear from the (fall)-rise intonation pattern characteristic of contrastive topics (cf. section 2.3.2.1) and from the possible occurrence of the contrastive particle *viszont* (cf. Lipták 2011). The same is true of the preverbal pronoun in (63), which is an instance of LUF.

(63) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy < ˈ**azt**> haza-hozhat < ***azt**>.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC PV.bring.may.3SG.indef res.pro.ACC
'He has expected to be able to take A CAR home.'

In example (64), on the other hand, the pronoun occupies the structural focus position, as is clear from the occurrence of verb-preverb inversion.

(64) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy < **AZT**> hozhat haza < ***azt**>.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC bring.may.3SG.indef PV res.pro.ACC
'He has expected to take A CAR home.'

As the pronoun is non-referential, it cannot occur as an ordinary topic:[69]

(65) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy [$_{\text{Spec,TopP}}$ (*azt)] **új-at** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

(66) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy [$_{\text{Spec,TopP}}$ (*azt)] kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to take A CAR home.'

The test concerning the possibility of the occurrence of a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause will be referred to as resumptive insertion in the rest of this dissertation.
Next I turn to the nature of number mismatch (cf. (67)). In theory there are two possibilities for number mismatch, i.e. either the long-focused phrase is singular and the embedded element is plural or the other way around. In practice, however, only the former case is a possible option (cf. (67) and (68)).

(67) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **új-ak-at** kap.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.**PL**.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

(68) ***** **AUTÓ-K-RA** számított hogy **új-ø-at** kap.
car.**PL**.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.SG.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

[69] This is valid for all the relevant examples of this chapter. However, for the sake of simplicity the position of the embedded pronoun will not be specified separately for each example but it will be shown without labels, in preverbal position.

As LUF does not have an (overt) embedded constituent in the embedded clause, number mismatch can only be made visible in long subject focusing (i.e. subject-verb agreement involves number) or by means of resumptive insertion in object and oblique complement focusing (e.g. (71)). (69) shows that the long-focused subject is singular while the embedded verb is plural. The construction is ungrammatical if the long-focused subject is plural and the embedded verb is singular (cf. (70)).

(69) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **van-nak** az udvaron.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that be.3**PL** the yard.ON
'He has said that there are (some) cars on the yard.'

(70) * **AUTÓ-K-AT** mondott hogy **van-ø** az udvaron.
car.**PL**.ACC said.3SG.indef that be.3**SG** the yard.ON
'He has said that there are (some) cars on the yard.'

In (71) resumptive insertion has taken place. The number of the long-focused phrase is singular while the resumptive pronoun is marked for plural. However, if the long-focused phrase bear the plural marker and the resumptive pronoun is singular, the structure is unacceptable (cf. (72)).

(71) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-at** kap.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.**PL**.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

(72) * **AUTÓ-K-RA** számított hogy **az-ø-t** kap.
car.**PL**.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.SG.ACC get.3SG
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

In the next section I describe the structural patterns in LSF.

4.5 STRUCTURAL PATTERNS IN LSF

4.5.1 INTRODUCTION

First long split focus fronting from *object clauses* will be described in section 4.5.2, then long split focus fronting from *oblique complement clauses* in section 4.5.3. These facts are summarized in section 4.5.4:
I am trying to find an answer to the following three questions:

(1) In which main type of LSF (i.e. 'matrix case' and 'embedded case') do the subtypes of LSF to be shown in sections 4.5.2 and 4.5.3. fall?
(2) Can a resumptive pronoun appear in the embedded clause of the given subtype of LSF?
(3) Can a number mismatch occur between *CORE* and *REM* in the embedded clause in the given subtype of LSF?

The three configurations corresponding to the above three questions will be presented in this order. As I made my intentions clear here, the examples will be presented with a minimal explanation in which the answer to the above questions is provided. The summary at the end of each section, however, considers the emerging patterns and offers conclusions relevant for my analysis of LSF.

4.5.2 LONG SPLIT FOCUS FRONTING FROM OBJECT CLAUSES

4.5.2.1 ARGUMENT FRONTING

In this section three types of fronted arguments, i.e. subjects, objects and oblique complements will be considered.

Split subject fronting:

The construction is grammatical both with *CORE* bearing matrix case (cf. (73)) and embedded case (cf. (74)).

(73) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **új-ø** áll a garázsában.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

(74) **AUTÓ-ø** mondta hogy **új-ø** áll a garázsában.
car.NOM said.3SG.def that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

mLSF is grammatical with resumptive insertion (cf. (75)) but eLSF is not (cf. (76)).

(75) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(az-ø)** **új-ø** áll a garázsában.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.NOM new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

(76) **AUTÓ-ø** mondta hogy **(*az-ø)** **új-ø** áll a garázsában.
car.NOM said.3SG.def that res.pro.NOM new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

mLSF is grammatical with a number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* (cf. (77)) while eLSF is not (cf. (78)).

(77) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **új-ak-ø** állnak a garázsában.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.PL.NOM stand.3PL the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there are new CARS standing in his garage.'

(78) **AUTÓ-ø-ø** mondta hogy **új-*ak-ø** állnak a garázsában.
car.SG.NOM said.3SG.def that new.PL.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
INTENDED:'He's said that there are new CARS standing in his garage.'

Split object fronting:

This construction is grammatical both with a matrix case *CORE* (cf. (79)) and with an embedded case *CORE* (cf. (80)) Note that the definiteness agreement in the matrix clause shows that matrix case assignment took place in (79), (cf. section 3.4.1).

(79) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **új-at** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

(80) **AUTÓ-T** mondta hogy **új-at** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

mLSF is grammatical with a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause (cf. (81)) while eLSF is ungrammatical in this configuration (cf. (82)).

(81) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(az-t)** **új-at** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

(82) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **(*az-t)** **új-at** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that res.pro.ACC new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

mLSF is grammatical with a number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* (cf. (83)) but eLSF is not (cf. (84)).

(83) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **új-ak-at** vett.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.PL.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought (some) new CARS.'

(84) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondta hogy **új-*ak-at** vett.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.def that new.PL.ACC bought.3SG.indef
INTENDED: *'He has said that he bought (some) new CARS.'*

Split oblique complement fronting:

This configuration is grammatical both with a 'matrix case' *CORE* (cf. (85)) and with an 'embedded case' *CORE* (cf. (86)).

(85) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **új-ra** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(86) **AUTÓ-RA** mondta hogy **új-ra** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

Both constructions are grammatical with a resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause:

(87) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(ar-ra)** **új-ra** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(88) **AUTÓ-RA** mondta hogy **(ar-ra)** **új-ra** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

Both constructions are grammatical with a number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*.

(89) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **új-ak-ra** számít.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects some new CARS.'

(90) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** mondta hogy **új-ak-ra** számít.
car.SG.ONTO said.3SG.def that new.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects some new CARS.'

Next I turn to split adjunct NomP fronting from object clauses.

4.5.2.2 ADJUNCT NP FRONTING

Typically oblique-marked NomPs function asadverbials. This also holds for the examples discussed here.

The ‘embedded case’ variant is grammatical (cf. (91)) while the ’matrix case’ variant is not (cf. (92)).

(91) **AUTÓ-BÓL** mondta hogy **piros-ból** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.FROM said. 3SG.def that red.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
’He’s said that they were removing the luggage from a red CAR.’(and not, for example, from a red BUS)

(92) ***AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **piros-ból** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.ACC said. 3SG.indef that red.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *’He’s said that they were removing the luggage from a red CAR.’*

The eLSF is ungrammatical with a pronoun in the embedded clause:[70]

(93) **AUTÓ-BÓL** mondta hogy **(*ab-ból)** **piros-ból** pakolták ki a
car.FROM said. 3SG.def that res.pro.FROM red.FROM removed.3PL PV the
csomagot.
luggage.ACC
’He’s said that they were removing the luggage from a red CAR.’(and not, for example, from a red BUS)

The eLSF is also ungrammatical with a number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*:

(94) **AUTÓ-ø-BÓL** mondta hogy **piros-*ak-ból** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.SG.FROM said. 3SG.def that red.PL.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
’He’s said that they were removing the luggage from a red CAR.’(and not, for example, from a red BUS)

The next section summarizes the data patterns of sections 4.5.2.1 and 4.5.2.2.

4.5.2.3 SUMMARY

Table 1 is a summary of the data patterns discussed in the previous two sections.

		mLSF	**eLSF**	**resumptive insertion in the embedded clause**		**number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM***	
				mLSF	**eLSF**	**mLSF**	**eLSF**
Argument fronting	**Subject**	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
	Object	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
	Oblique complement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Adjunct NomP fronting		×	✓	n.a.	×	n.a.	×

Table 1. Structural patterns in long split focus fronting from object clauses

As the table shows, LSF constructions in which argument fronting takes place from an object clause all come in the two main types (i.e. mLSF and eLSF) regardless of the type of argument (i.e. subject, object or oblique complement). Split adjunct NomP fronting is only grammatical in the ’embedded case’ configuration.

[70] Those types of LSF that were ungrammatical in their baseline form do not become acceptable with resumptive insertion and number mismatch (cf. section 4.5.4). This applies to all types of LSF discussed in this chapter.

The table also shows a correlation between the possibility of resumptive insertion and the possibility of number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*. Moreover, there is a one-way correlation between the possibility of mLSF and the possibility of resumptive insertion/number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*: in mLSF resumptive insertion and number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* are grammatical.

4.5.3 LONG SPLIT FOCUS FRONTING FROM OBLIQUE COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

4.5.3.1 ARGUMENT FRONTING

Like in the corresponding subsections of section 4.5.2, I focus split subject, object and oblique complements, but this time fronting takes place from an oblique complement clause. An example of an oblique complement clause is shown in (95). Note that in such clauses the expletive introducing the embedded clause bears an oblique case.

(95) Arra számított hogy új autót kap.
expl.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new car.ACC get.3SG.indef
'(S)he expected to get a new car.'

Split subject fronting:

The 'matrix case' variant is grammatical (cf. (96)) while the 'embedded case' variant is ungrammatical (cf. (97)).

(96) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **új-ø** fog állni az udvaron.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.NOM will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that a new CAR will be standing on the yard.'

(97) ***AUTÓ-ø** számított hogy **új-ø** fog állni az udvaron.
car.NOM counted.3SG.indef that new.NOM will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON

mLSF is compatible with resumptive insertion:

(98) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **(az-ø)** **új-ø** fog állni az udvaron.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.NOM new.NOM will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that a new CAR will be standing on the yard.'

mLSF is grammatical with number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*:

(99) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **új-ø-ak** fognak állni az udvaron.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.NOM.PL will.3PL stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that (some) new CARS will be standing on the yard.'

Split object fronting:

mLSF is grammatical (cf. (100)) while the eLSF is not (cf. (101)) in this configuration.

(100) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **új-at** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

(101) ***AUTÓ-T** számított hogy **új-at** kap.
car.ACC counted.3SG.indef that new.ACC get.3SG.indef

mLSF is compatible with resumptive insertion:

(102) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **(az-t)** **új-at** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a new CAR.'

mLSF is grammatical with number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*:

(103) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **új-ak-at** kap.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.PL.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

Split oblique complement fronting:

The mLSF is grammatical (cf. (104)) while the eLSF is not (cf. (105)).

(104) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **új-nak** örülnének.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL
'He has expected that they would be happy about a new CAR.'

(105) ***AUTÓ-NAK** számított hogy **új-nak** örülnének.
car.DAT counted.3SG.indef that new.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL

mLSF is compatible with resumptive insertion:

(106) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **(an-nak)** **új-nak** örülnének.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.DAT new.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL
'He has expected that they would be happy about a new CAR.'

Number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* can occur in mLSF:

(107) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **új-ak-nak** örülnének.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.PL.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL
'He has expected that they would be happy about (some) new CARS.'

In the next section I turn to the long split focus fronting of adjunct NomPs.

4.5.3.2 ADJUNCT NP FRONTING

Given that oblique-marked NomPs typically function as adverbials, it is this type of adjuncts that I take into account in this section.

Both the mLSF (cf. (108)) and the eLSF (cf. (109)) are ungrammatical in this configuration.

(108) ***AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **piros-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.ONTO counted. 3SG.indef that red.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He expected that they would remove the luggage from a red CAR.'*

(109) ***AUTÓ-BÓL** számított hogy **piros-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.FROM counted that red.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He expected that they would remove the luggage from a red CAR.'*

In the next section I give a summary of the patterns attested in the previous two sections.

4.5.3.3 SUMMARY

Table 2 summarizes the structural patterns found in long split focus fronting from oblique complement clauses.

		'Matrix case' LSF	**eLSF**	**resumptive insertion in the embedded clause**		**number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM***	
				mLSF	**eLSF**	**mLSF**	**eLSF**
Argument fronting	**Subject**	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
	Object	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
	Oblique complement	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
Adjunct NomP fronting		×	×	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Table 2. Structural patterns in long split focus fronting from oblique complement clauses

As clear from the table, split argument fronting out of an oblique complement clause comes in one type only: in the 'matrix case' variant. Split adjunct NomP fronting on the othe hand is ungrammatical both in the 'matrix case' and in the 'embedded case' type of LSF.

Table 2 also shows the same correlations found in long split focus fronting from object clauses: (1) between the possibility of resumptive insertion and the possibility of number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*, (2) the one-way correlation between the possibility of mLSF and the possibility of resumptive insertion/number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*: in the mLSF resumptive insertion and number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* are grammatical.

Finally, similarly to the patterns in long split focus fronting from object clauses, the three subtypes of split argument fronting pattern alike both in the mLSF configuration and in the eLSF configuration.

4.5.4 SUMMARY

This section gives a summary of the results of section 4.5.
In sections 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 mLSF and eLSF were further characterized based on the syntactic role of the embedded complement clause (i.e. object clause, oblique complement clause), the syntactic role of the focused NomP (i.e. subject, object, oblique complement, adjunct NomP), resumptive insertion in the embedded clause, and the availability of number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*.

The following two tables summarize these data. Table 3 is a summary of the distribution of the two main types of LSF with respect to the syntactic role of the embedded clause and that of the focused NomP.

		mLSF	**eLSF**
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**	×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	×	×

Table 3. The distribution of the two main types of LSF

As table 3 shows, in long split argument fronting object clauses allow both the 'matrix case' and the 'embedded case' type of LSF, while oblique complement clauses only come in the 'matrix

case' type. As far as adjunct NomP fronting is concerned, they do not have a 'matrix case' variant. Object clauses allow the 'embedded case' variant while oblique complement clauses do not allow either type. In other words, adjunct NomPs cannot be long-focused across an oblique complement clause.

Table 4 summarizes in which types of LSF resumptive insertion and number mismatch are acceptable. These two factors, as has been pointed out in sections 4.5.2.3 and 4.5.3.3, show a correlation: where either of them is allowed, the other one is also allowed. Therefore, they are treated together in table 4.

			Resumptive insertion in the embedded clause & number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM*	
			mLSF	**eLSF**
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	×
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	n.a.
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		n.a.	×
	Oblique complement clauses		n.a.	n.a.

Table 4. The distribution of resumptive insertion&number mismatch between CORE and REM in the two main types of LSF

As a general rule, the configurations that are shown to be ungrammatical in table 3 stay ungrammatical after resumptive insertion or number mismatch (cf. table 4). More specifically, adjunct NomP fronting disallows the 'matrix case' variant (cf. table 3), and it remains ungrammatical with resumptive insertion and number mismatch, as is clear from table 4. Similarly, given argument fronting from oblique complement clauses and adjunct NomP fronting do not come in the 'embedded case' type (cf. table 3), they are ungrammatical after resumptive insertion and number mismatch, as well (cf. table 4).

As pointed out in sections 4.5.2.3 and 4.5.3.3, and as is clear from table 4, resumptive insertion and number mismatch only occur in mLSF and with one exception (i.e. oblique complement fronting from object clauses) they are unavailable in eLSF.

4.6 STRUCTURAL PATTERNS IN LUF

4.6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the next two sections I give a detailed description of the different subtypes of LUF. The examples of the next two sections illustrate the following issues in the following order (cf. section 4.1): [71]

(1) In which type of LUF (i.e. 'matrix case' or 'embedded case') do the subtypes of LUF to be shown in sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.3 fall?
(2) Can a resumptive pronoun appear in the embedded clause of a given subtype of LUF?
(3) Can a number mismatch occur between the long-focused constituent and its grammatical number in the embedded clause in a given subtype of LUF?

First I describe LUF from object clauses in section 4.6.2, then I turn to the discussion of oblique complement clauses in section 4.6.3.

4.6.2 LONG UNSPLIT FOCUS FRONTING FROM OBJECT CLAUSES

4.6.2.1 ARGUMENT FRONTING

In this section I give examples of long subject, object and oblique complement focus fronting taking place from an object clause.

Subject fronting:

The construction is grammatical both in the'matrix case' (cf. (110)) and the 'embedded case' variant of LUF (cf. (111)).

(110) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy *e* NOM áll a garázsában.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a CAR standing in his garage.'

(111) **AUTÓ-ø** mondta hogy *e* NOM áll a garázsában.
car.NOM said.3SG.def that stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

mLUF is compatible with resumptive insertion (cf. (112)) but eLUF is not (cf. (113)).

(112) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(az-ø)** áll a garázsában.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

(113) **AUTÓ-ø** mondta hogy **(*az-ø)** áll a garázsában.
car.NOM said.3SG.def that res.pro.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

mLUF is grammatical with number mismatch (cf. (114)). eLUF, however, is not (cf. (115)).[72]

[71] LUF lacks an (overt) embedded constituent. However, after resumptive insertion has taken place in the embedded clause, it has one, too.
[72] Number mismatch in LUF structures with a definite long-focused NomP have been discussed extensively in Gervain (2002, 2005, 2009).

(114) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **az-ok-ø** állnak a garázsában.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.NOM stand.3PL the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there are new CARS standing in his garage.'

(115) **AUTÓ-ø-ø** mondta hogy **(*az-ok-ø)** állnak a garázsában.
car.SG.NOM said.3SG.def that res.pro.PL.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there are CARS standing in his garage.'

Object fronting:

This construction is grammatical both in the 'matrix case' type (cf. (116)) and in the 'embedded case' type of LUF (cf. (117)). Recall that definiteness agreement in the matrix clause shows that matrix case assignment took place, cf. section 3.4.1.

(116) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy e_{ACC} vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a CAR.'

(117) **AUTÓ-T** mondta hogy e_{ACC} vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

In mLUF resumptive insertion is available (cf. (118)) but in eLUF it is not (cf. (119)).

(118) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(az-t)** kér.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC ask.3SG.indef
'He has said that he would like to have a CAR.'

(119) **AUTÓ-T** mondta hogy **(*az-t)** kér.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that res.pro.ACC ask.3SG.indef
'He has said that he would like to have a CAR.'

mLUF is compatible with number mismatch (cf. (120)). However, eLUF is not (cf. (121)).

(120) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy (**az-ok-at)** kér.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.ACC ask.3SG.indef
'He has said that he would like to have (some) CARS.'

(121) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondta hogy **(*az-ok-at)** kér.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.def that res.pro.PL.ACC ask.3SG.indef
'He has said that he would like to have (some) CARS.'

Oblique complement fronting:

It is a grammatical construction both in the 'matrix case' variant (cf. (122)) and in the 'embedded case' variant of LUF (cf. (123)). Note that resumptive insertion is obligatory in the 'matrix case' variant (cf. (122)) as the embedded verb assigns an oblique case, which needs to be checked by an overt nominal element.[73]

(122) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy *(**ar-ra)** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a CAR.'

[73] Recall from section 4.4 that I associate the possibility of resumptive insertion with a base-generation derivation, i.e. the only way the embedded argument position can remain empty is via pro-drop.

(123) **AUTÓ-RA** mondta hogy e_{ONTO} számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that car.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a CAR.'

Both constructions are grammatical with resumptive insertion (cf. (124) and (125)). As mentioned above, mLUF *must* have a pronoun in the embedded clause. Oblique *pro* drop is not a possible option in Hungarian.

(124) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy ***(ar-ra)** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a CAR.'

(125) **AUTÓ-RA** mondta hogy **(ar-ra)** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a CAR.'

Both constructions are grammatical with number mismatch as the examples below show.

(126) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **az-ok-ra** számít.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects (some) CARS.'

(127) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** mondta hogy **az-ok-ra** számít.
car.SG.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects (some)CARS.'

In the next section I give an overview of the properties of adjunct NP fronting.

4.6.2.2 ADJUNCT NP FRONTING

In this type of LUF the 'embedded case' variant is grammatical (cf. (128)) while the 'matrix case' variant is not (cf. (129)).

(128) **AUTÓ-BÓL** mondta hogy e_{FROM} pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.FROM said. 3SG.def that removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
'He's said that they were removing the luggage from a CAR.'(and not, for example, from a BUS)

(129) ***AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy e_{FROM} pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.ACC said. 3SG.indef that removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He's said that they were removing the luggage from a CAR.'*

The 'embedded case' variant is ungrammatical with resumptive insertion:

(130) **AUTÓ-BÓL** mondta hogy **(*ab-ból)** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.FROM said. 3SG.def that res.pro.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
'He's said that they were removing the luggage from a CAR.'(and not, for example, from a BUS)

The 'embedded case' variant is not compatible with number mismatch:

(131) **AUTÓ-ø-BÓL** mondta hogy **(*az-ok-ból)** pakolták ki a
car.SG.FROM said. 3SG.def that red.PL.FROM removed.3PL PV the
csomagot.
luggage.ACC
'He's said that they were removing the luggage from a red CAR.'(and not, for example, from a red BUS)

The 'matrix case' variant is ungrammatical both with resumptive insertion (cf. (132)) and number mismatch (cf. (133)).

(132) ***AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **ab-ból** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.ACC said. 3SG.indef that res.pro.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He's said that they were removing the luggage from a CAR.'*

(133) ***AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **az-ok-ból** pakolták ki a csomagot.
car.SG.ACC said. 3SG.indef that res.pro.FROM removed.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He's said that they were removing the luggage from CARS.'*

4.6.2.3 SUMMARY

Table 5 summarizes the data shown in sections 4.6.2.1 and 4.6.2.2 in structural patterns.

		mLUF	**eLUF**	**resumptive insertion in the embedded clause**		**number mismatch**	
				mLUF	**eLUF**	**mLUF**	**eLUF**
Argument fronting	**Subject**	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
	Object	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×
	Oblique complement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Adjunct NomP fronting		×	✓	n.a.	×	n.a.	×

Table 5. Structural patterns in long unsplit focus fronting from object clauses

The table shows that argument fronting from object clauses may come in either of the two types of LUF (i.e. mLUF and eLUF). This is independent of whether the argument to be long-focused is a subject, object or oblique complement. Adjunct NomPs, on the other hand, come in only one variant, i.e. in the 'embedded case' type. This is the same pattern that we have found for LSF in section 4.5.2.3. The correlations that were shown in connection with LSF hold for LUF, too: on the one hand resumptive insertion and number mismatch have the same distribution, on the other hand they are associated with the 'matrix case' type of LUF. They cannot occur in the 'embedded case' variant of LUF with one exception: oblique complement fronting, which is compatible with resumptive insertion and number mismatch (cf. the same configuration as in LSF). One difference between the 'matrix case' variant of the exceptional structure in LSF and LUF is that in LSF resumptive insertion is optional (cf. (134)) but in LUF it is obligatory (cf. (135)). Note that this is because the oblique case ending of a complement must attach to an overt element in Hungarian.

(134) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(ar-ra)** **új-ra** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(135) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy ***(ar-ra)** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a CAR.'

To conclude, the three subtypes of long argument focus fronting show the same distribution of resumptive insertion and number mismatch in LSF and LUF (with the contrast between (134) and (135) as the only exception.

4.6.3 LONG UNSPLIT FOCUS FRONTING FROM OBLIQUE COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

4.6.3.1 ARGUMENT FRONTING

Subject fronting:

The mLUF variant is grammatical (cf. (136)) while the eLUF variant is ungrammatical in this configuration (cf. (137)).

(136) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy e_{NOM} fog állni az udvaron.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that a CAR will be standing on the yard.'

(137) ***AUTÓ**-ø számított hogy e_{NOM} fog állni az udvaron.
car.NOM counted.3SG.indef that will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON

mLUF is compatible with resumptive insertion:

(138) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **(az-ø)** fog állni az udvaron.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.NOM will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that a CAR will be standing on the yard.'

mLUF is grammatical with number mismatch:

(139) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-ø** fognak állni az udvaron.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.NOM will.3PL stand.inf the yard.ON
'He has expected that (some) CARS will be standing on the yard.'

eLUF is incompatible both with resumptive insertion (cf. (140)) and number mismatch (cf. (141)).

(140) ***AUTÓ**-ø számított hogy **az-ø** fog állni az udvaron.
car.NOM counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.NOM will.3SG stand.inf the yard.ON

(141) ***AUTÓ**-ø-ø számított hogy **az-ok-ø** fognak állni az udvaron.
car.SG.NOM counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.NOM will.3PL stand.inf the yard.ON

Object fronting:

The 'matrix case' variant is grammatical (cf. (142)) while the 'embedded case' variant is not in this configuration (cf. (143)).

(142) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy e_{ACC} kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a CAR.'

(143) ***AUTÓ-T** számított hogy e_{ACC} kap.
car.ACC counted.3SG.indef that get.3SG.indef

mLUF is compatible with resumptive insertion:

(144) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **(az-t)** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get a CAR.'

mLUF number mismatch may occur:

(145) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-at** kap.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.ACC get.3SG.indef
'He has expected to get (some) new CARS.'

eLUF is ungrammatical both with resumptive insertion and number mismatch, as (146) and (147) show.

(146) ***AUTÓ-T** számított hogy **az-t** kap.
car.ACC counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC get.3SG.indef

(147) ***AUTÓ-ø-T** számított hogy **az-ok-at** kap.
car.SGACC counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.ACC get.3SG.indef

Oblique complement fronting:

The mLUF is grammatical in this configuration (cf. (148)). The eLUF, however, is not (cf. (149)). The mLUF is not simply compatible with a pronoun in the embedded clause (i.e. resumptive insertion) but it must have one (cf. (148)). This has to do with the fact that Hungarian does not allow oblique pro-drop (cf. section 4.6.2.1).

(148) **AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy *(**an-nak**) örülnének.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL
'He has expected that they would be happy about a CAR.'

(149) ***AUTÓ-NAK** számított hogy e_{DAT} örülnének.
car.DAT counted.3SG.indef that would.be.pleased.3PL

Number mismatch can occur in mLUF:

(150) **AUTÓ-ø-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-nak** örülnének.
car.SG.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL
'He has expected that they would be happy about (some) CARS.'

eLUF cannot occur with resumptive insertion (cf. (151)) or number mismatch (cf. (152)).

(151) ***AUTÓ-NAK** számított hogy **an-nak** örülnének.
car.DAT counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL

(152) ***AUTÓ-ø-NAK** számított hogy **az-ok-nak** örülnének.
car.SG.DAT counted.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.DAT would.be.pleased.3PL

In the next section I turn to the discussion of adjunct NP fronting.

4.6.3.2 ADJUNCT NP FRONTING

In this configuration both the mLUF (cf. (153)) and the eLUF (cf. (154)) are ungrammatical.

(153) ***AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy e_{FROM} pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.ONTO counted. 3SG.indef that remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He expected that they would remove the luggage from a CAR.'*

(154) ***AUTÓ-BÓL** számított hogy e_{FROM} pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.FROM counted that remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC
INTENDED: *'He expected that they would remove the luggage from a CAR.'*

They are also ungrammatical with resumptive insertion (cf. mLUF in (155), eLUF in (156)) and number mismatch (cf. mLUF in (157) and eLUF in (158)).

(155) ***AUTÓ-RA** számított hogy **ab-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.ONTO counted. 3SG.indef that res.pro.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC

(156) ***AUTÓ-BÓL** számított hogy **ab-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.FROM counted that res.pro.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC

(157) ***AUTÓ-Ø-RA** számított hogy **az-ok-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.SG.ONTO counted. 3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC

(158) ***AUTÓ-Ø-BÓL** számított hogy **az-ok-ból** pakolják ki a csomagot.
car.SG.FROM counted that res.pro.PL.FROM remove.3PL PV the luggage.ACC

The next section summarizes the patterns that emerge from the data in sections 4.6.3.1 and 4.6.3.2.

4.6.3.3 SUMMARY

Table 6 shows a summary of the data patterns outlined in the previous two sections.

		mLUF	**eLUF**	**resumptive insertion in the embedded clause**		**number mismatch**	
				mLUF	**eLUF**	**mLUF**	**eLSF**
Argument fronting	**Subject**	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
	Object	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
	Oblique complement	✓	×	✓	n.a.	✓	n.a.
Adjunct NomP fronting		×	×	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Table 6. Structural patterns in long unsplit focus fronting from oblique complement clauses

The table shows that all types of argument fronting (i.e. subject, object and oblique complement fronting) only come in the 'matrix case' variant of LUF. Adjunct NomP fronting cannot take place from oblique complement clauses either in the 'matrix case' or in the 'embedded case' variant. This is the same pattern that was found for LSF in section 4.5.3.3.

4.6.4 SUMMARY

In sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.3 I have investigated the distribution of mLUF and eLUF across several syntactic configurations of LUF. More specifically, argument fronting (subject, object, oblique complement) and adjunct NP fronting constructions were tested in which long focus fronting takes place from object and oblique complement clauses. Table 7 summarizes the distribution of the two main types of LUF.

			MLUF	ELUF
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	×
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

Table 7. The distribution of the two main types of LUF

As table 7 shows, in long subject and object fronting from object clauses LUF may come both in the ’matrix case’ and the ’embedded case’ type. Oblique complement fronting from object clauses is only grammatical in the ‘matrix case’ variant if resumptive insertion also takes place. However, as was shown above in sections 4.6.2.1 and 4.6.3.1, the reason why such structures are ungrammatical is not related to long focus fronting but to an independent condition, namely to the lack of oblique pro-drop in Hungarian. In the ’embedded case’ variant oblique complement fronting from object clauses is well-formed.

Long argument focusing from oblique complement clauses may only come in the ’matrix case’ variant of LUF. Again, oblique complement fronting is only grammatical in this configuration if a resumptive is also present in the embedded clause. Note that this is independent of the formation of LUF (as just described above). In the ’embedded case’ version all the subtypes of long argument focusing are ungrammatical.

Long adjunct NomP focusing is only possible from object clauses but not from oblique complement clauses. This is the same pattern that was found in connection with LSF in sections 4.5.2.2 and 4.5.3.2.

Table 8 summarizes the distribution of resumptive insertion and number mismatch in the two main types of LUF. These two factors, as has been pointed out in sections 4.6.2.3 and 4.6.3.3, go hand in hand. Therefore, they are shown together in table 8.

			Resumptive insertion in the embedded clause & number mismatch	
			mLUF	**eLUF**
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	×
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	n.a.
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	n.a.
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		n.a.	×
	Oblique complement clauses		n.a.	n.a.

Table 8. The distribution of resumptive insertion&number mismatch in the two main types of LUF

Note that the previously observed correlation holds here, too: resumptive insertion and number mismatch are compatible with all subtypes of mLUF.

As for the distribution of resumptive insertion and number mismatch in eLUF, table 8 confirms the previously made observation, i.e. they are not allowed in the 'embedded case' types of LUF except for long oblique complement focusing from object clauses.

Resumptive insertion and number mismatch cannot occur in long adjunct NomP focusing, just as in the case of LSF.

4.7 CONCLUSION

To sum up, there is a close correspondence between LSF and LUF: both constructions come in the same two types and the two types share the same syntactic properties. More specifically, long argument focusing comes in the 'matrix case' and in the 'embedded case' variant both in LSF and LUF. Long adjunct NomP focusing only has the 'embedded case' variant both in LSF and LUF. Moreover, resumptive insertion and number mismatch, which were shown to be correlated, occur only in the 'matrix case' variant of both LSF and LUF. On the other hand, resumptive insertion and number mismatch do not occur in the 'embedded case' variant of LSF and LUF with the same exception in both, namely oblique complement focusing from object clauses.

The only difference between LSF and LUF is that the former overtly (and obligatorily) preserves the in situ inflection of the embedded NomP (i.e. the nominal case inflection on the stranded adjective) in the embedded clause while the latter construction, which lacks a stranded constituent, does not.

The common properties of LSF and LUF suggest that they share the same derivational options. In the next chapter I give an overview of the main accounts of LUF.

5 PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF LUF

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter investigates previous analyses of LUF. This long focus construction, unlike LSF, has already received a fair amount of attention in the generative literature on Hungarian (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Lipták 1998, Puskás 2000, Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010).

The main syntactic characteristics of this construction have been introduced in the previous chapter. However, the previous chapter also contained new data about LUF. As a result, not all types of LUF introduced in Chapter 4 have been analyzed in the previous literature. Importantly, the term mLUF will refer to 'matrix *accusative* case' LUF in *long subject/object focus fronting* (cf. (1)) throughout this chapter as other types of the mLUF (e.g. (2)) have not been described and analyzed in the literature so far.

(1) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy e_{NOM} áll az udvaron.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that stand.3SG the yard.ON
'He has said that there's a CAR standing on the yard.'

(2) **AUTÓRA** számít hogy e_{ACC} kap.
car.ONTO count.3SG.(indef) that receive.3SG
'He expects to receive a CAR.'

The first analyses of the mLUF were all movement accounts (just like those of the eLUF, e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998). Of these analyses I present one in section 5.2.1, namely Lipták (1998). Later works question the single long-distance movement derivation of the mLUF: they either assign a double analysis (cf. Gervain's (2009) long-distance movement and resumption, discussed in section 5.2.2) or a base-generation derivation to this type of LUF (cf. Den Dikken's (2010) concord introduced in section 5.2.3). In the previous literature on LUF mLUF in long subject focusing with number mismatch (cf. Gervain 2009) has been regarded as a special type. This type has received a base-generation (resumption) account (cf. Gervain 2009), which is outlined in section 5.2.2.

eLUF has uncontroversially received long-distance movement accounts in the previous literature. I present Den Dikken's (2010) account of long subject focusing in section 5.3.1 and Lipták's (1998) account of long adverbial focusing in section 5.3.2. Section 5.4 summarizes the main points of the chapter.

This chapter serves as background for my analysis of LSF in Chapter 8.

5.2 PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE MLUF

5.2.1 A MOVEMENT ACCOUNT (LIPTÁK 1998)

Lipták (1998) gives an analysis of the mLUF involving long subject fronting (cf. (3)) and long object fronting (cf. (4)).

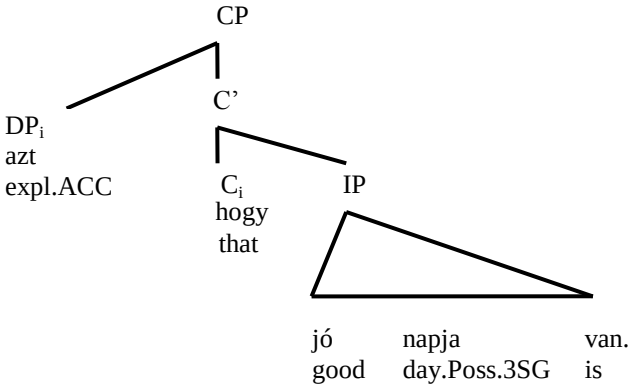
(3) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy e_{NOM} közeledik.
car.**ACC** said.3SG.**indef** that approach.3SG
'S)he said that A CAR was approaching.'

(4) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy e_{ACC} vett.
car.**ACC** said.3SG.**indef** that bought.3SG.indef
'S)he said that(s)he had bought a CAR.'

The key assumption in Lipták's (1998) analysis is that the embedded argument CP has nominal features both in EA the structure underlying long focus constructions (cf. section 4.2.4) and in LUF. Lipták (1998), similarly to Kenesei (1992, 1994, cf. section 4.2.3), assumes that the expletive and its associate form a chain. The following tree representation shows the relevant portion of example (5) in (6).

(5) [**Clausal expletive** Azt] mondja [**Associate obj. clause** hogy jó napja
expl.ACC says.3SG.def that good day.Poss.3SG
van].
is
'(S)he says (s)he has a good day.'

(6)



(based on Lipták 1998)

More specifically, she claims that the C head of CPs contains the same features as the D head of DPs. In her account the only difference between a CP and a DP argument is that the +D category feature, when found on C in a CP, deletes after feature checking while it survives when it is attached to the D-head of a DP. She claims that the C-head of the complement clause of a bridge verb is specified as follows:

(7) *Feature specification of the embedded C of the complement clause of a bridge verb:*
"+D, phi-features (person, number, definiteness in Hungarian), +case"

(Lipták 1998: 8)

Lipták argues that in EA these features are checked by the expletive (i.e. a DP). She assumes that this expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP. In LUF on the other hand, feature checking of the embedded C head takes place if a constituent bearing a +D-feature moves into the embedded Spec,CP. Lipták regards structurally case-marked constituents as having a +D-feature.

Based on Lipták's (1998) labelled bracketing in (8) the tree structure in (10) can be assigned to long subject focusing and (12) to long object focusing. Examples are given in (9) and 0. The steps of the derivation are described after the tree representations below.

(8) Subject/object movement:

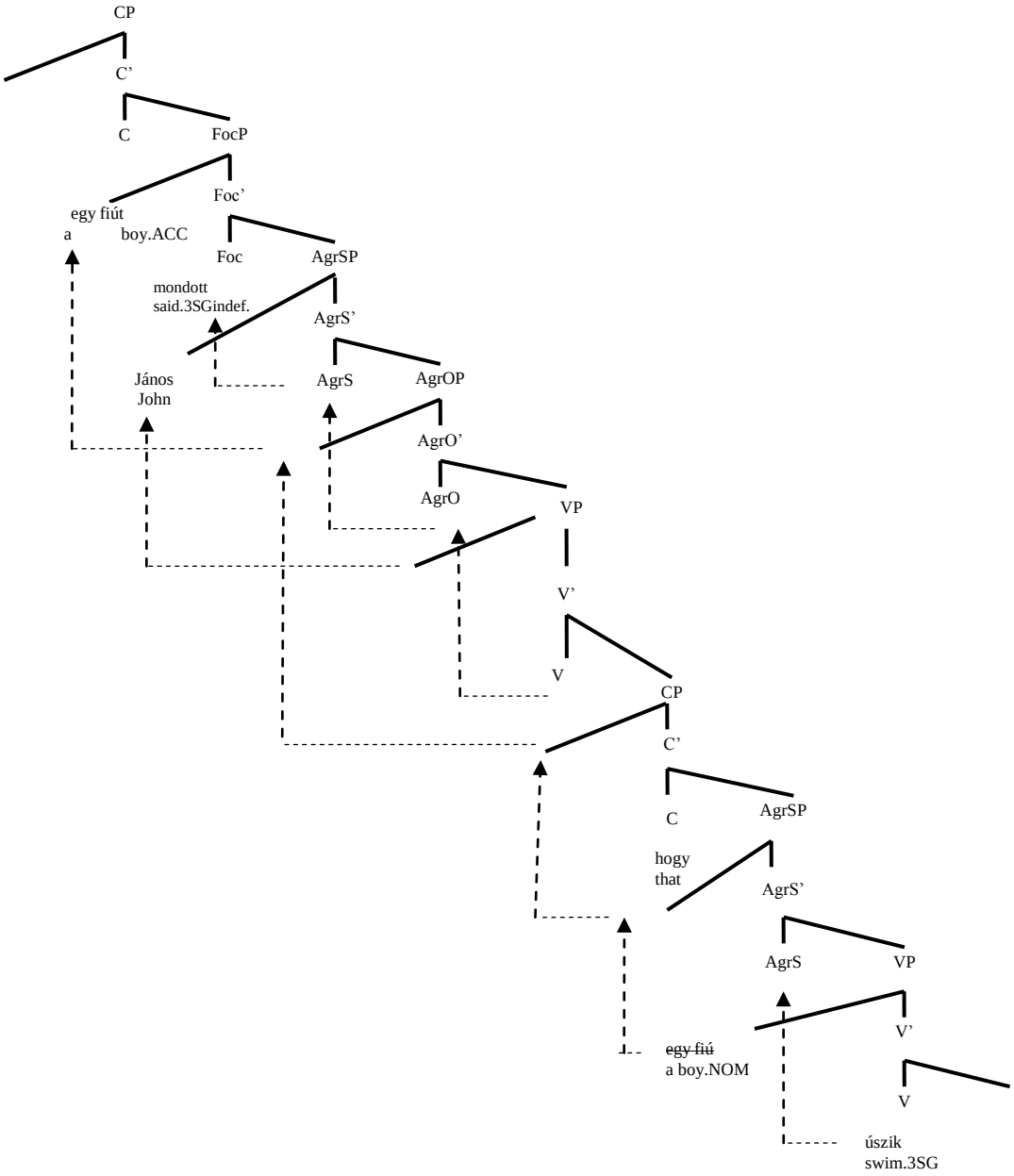
[$_{FP}$	DP_i	[$_{AgrOP}$	t_i	[$_{VP}$	[$_{CP}$	t_i	[$_{C'}$	C	[$_{AgrS/OP}$	t_i	[$_{VP}$	t_i	]]]]]]
	+F		+ACC			+D	~~+D~~		+NOM/ACC				
			+DEF						+PHI				
			+D						+D				

(Lipták 1998: 9)

(9) **EGY** **FIÚT** mondott János hogy e_{NOM} úszik.
A boy.ACC said.3SG.indef. John that swim.3SG
'It was a boy that John said was swimming.'

(Lipták 1998: 4-5)

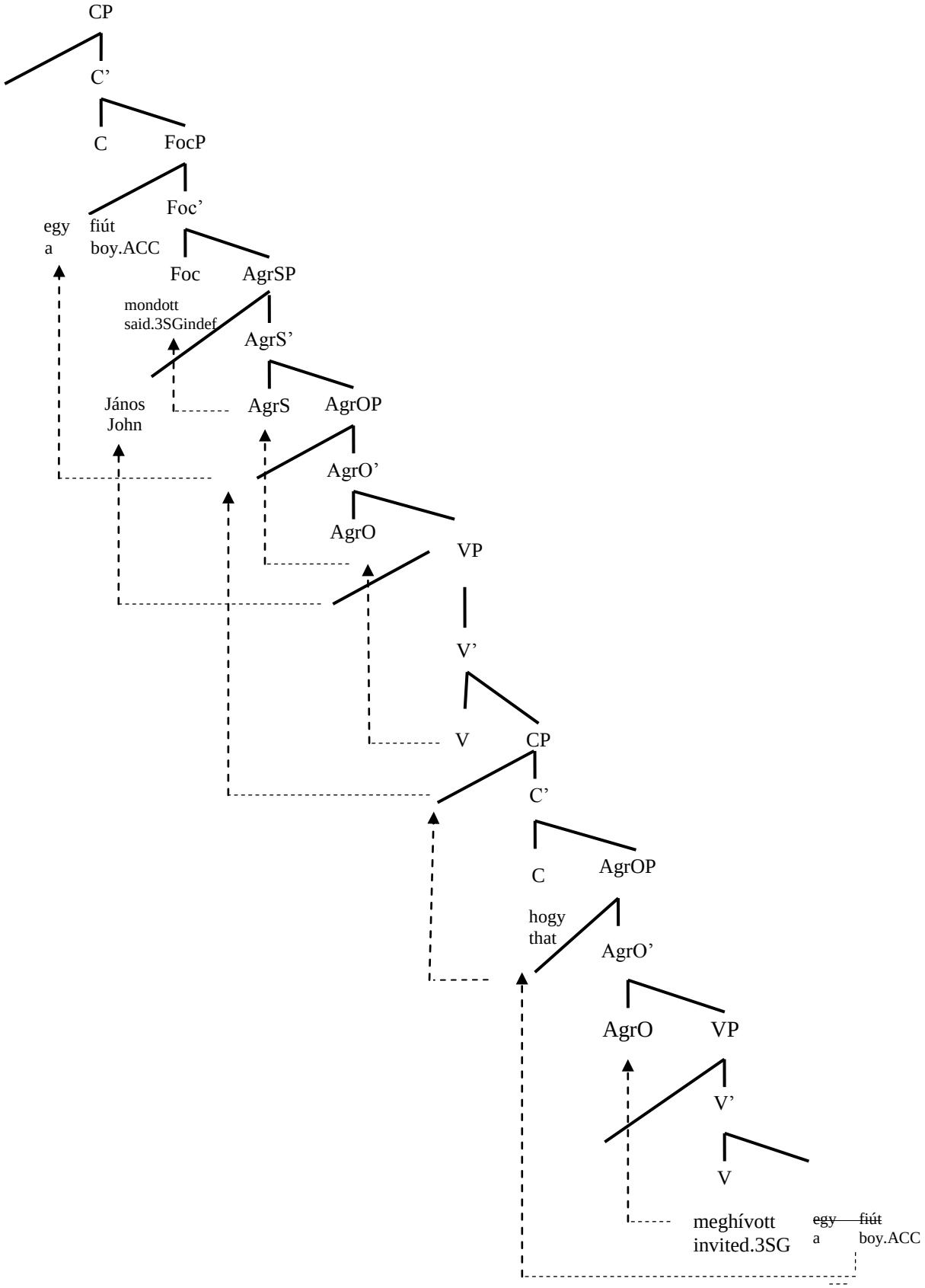
(10)



(11) **EGY** **FIÚT** mondott János hogy e_{ACC} meghívott.
A boy.ACC said.3SG.indef. John that invited.3SG
'It was a boy that John said he invited.'

(Lipták 1998: 4-5)

(12)



In the tree structures an embedded subject (cf. (10)) or an embedded object (cf. (12)) moves to the specifier of a corresponding AgrP projection in the embedded clause (Spec,AgrSP in (10) and Spec,AgrOP in (12)). This movement is triggered by the +D-feature of the moving constituent. Lipták argues that phi and case features can only be checked in the specifier of an AgrP if a +D-feature is also present. After feature checking in Spec,AgrP the constituent moves further successive cyclically to the embedded Spec,CP. As the embedded C head contains a +D-feature, the moving nominal can check its +D-feature there, after which this feature is deleted. This is what ~~+D~~ in (8) stands for. Lipták (1998) assumes double case checking in the mLUF, i.e. the long-focused constituent checks case both in the embedded clause and in the matrix clause.[74]

This analysis explains why the expletive cannot surface in LUF: the DP moving to the embedded Spec,CP will check the features of the embedded C, thus preventing an expletive from being base-generated there.

This concludes my discussion of Lipták's (1998) analysis of mLUF. In the next section I turn to Gervain's account of mLUF.

5.2.2 A DOUBLE ANALYSIS: MOVEMENT AND RESUMPTION (GERVAIN 2009)

Gervain (2002) introduced new data in the literature on LUF. She found that in addition to LUF constructions without number mismatch, a group of speakers also accepts LUF with number mismatch. Gervain's double (i.e. movement and base-generation) analysis of mLUF applies to a subset of mLUF data, namely those without number mismatch. I first discuss her analysis of these constructions and then I turn to her account of mLUF with number mismatch.

Gervain (2002, 2009) takes speaker variation into account in her analysis. The nature of speaker variation will be addressed in Chapter 7. At this point the only relevant aspect of variation is that Gervain finds that speakers can resort to one of two strategies (but never to both) when it comes to the derivation of the mLUF without number mismatch. As a result, the derivation of one and the same surface structure may either involve long-distance movement or a resumptive dependency in her (2009) account.

First I turn to the long-distance movement derivation of mLUF (without number mismatch). Gervain (2009) assigns the labelled bracketing representation in (13) to this structure. The glossed example is shown in (14). The tree structure in (15) is based on Gervain's (2009) labelled bracketing representation.

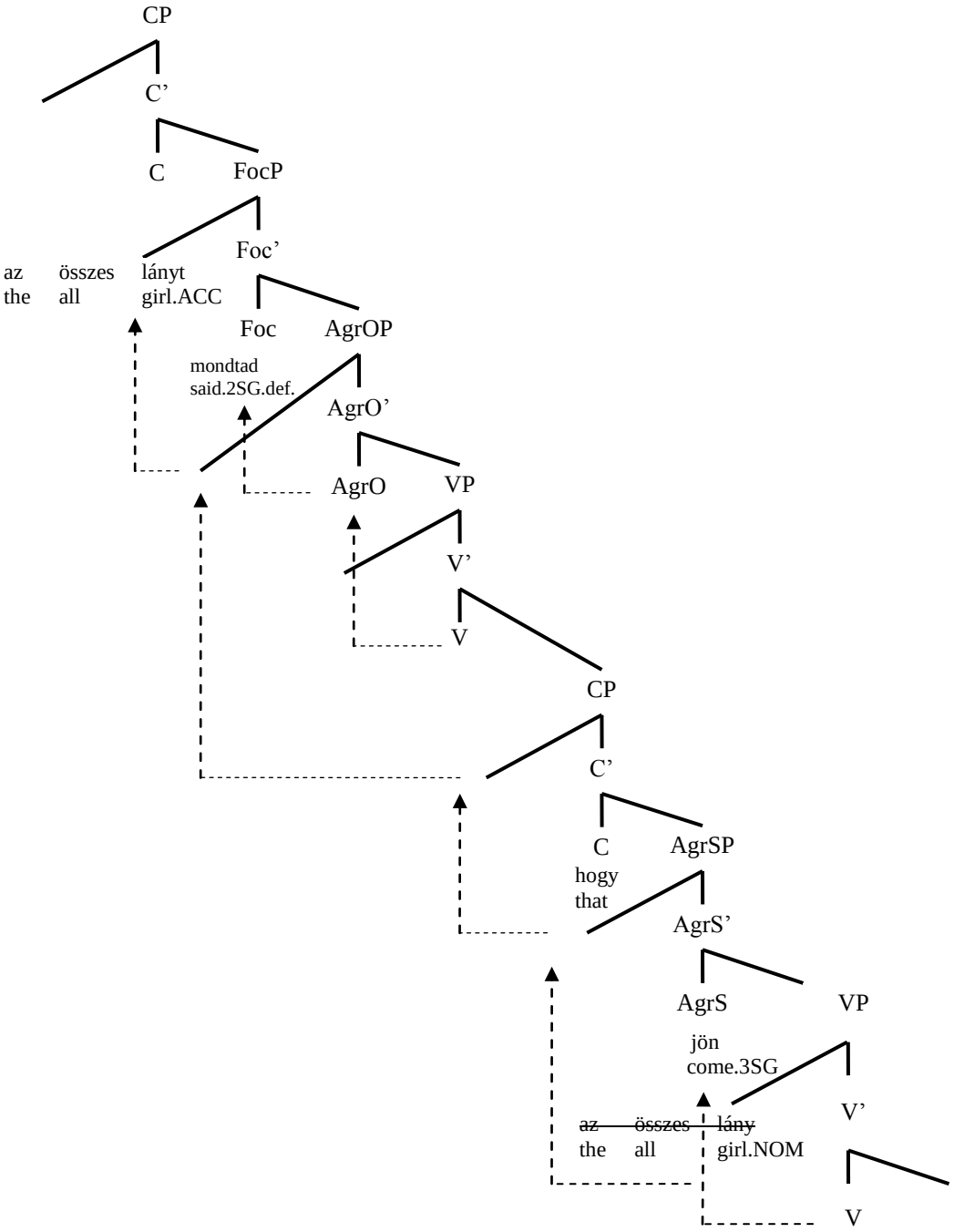
(13) $[_{CP}\ [_{FP}\ [_{DP}$ AZ ÖSSZES LÁNYT$_i^{ACC}$ $]$ mondtad, $[_{AgrOP}\ t_i^{ACC}][_{CP}\ t_i$ hogy t_i^{NOM} jön]].

(Gervain 2009: 690)

(14) **AZ** **ÖSSZES** **LÁNYT** mondtad hogy [~~az összes lány~~] jön.
the all girl.**ACC** said.2SG.def that the all girl.**NOM** come.3SG
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

[74] Lipták also gives an alternative analysis which involves exceptional case marking. In this derivation the embedded DP does not check case in the embedded clause but only in the matrix AgrP.

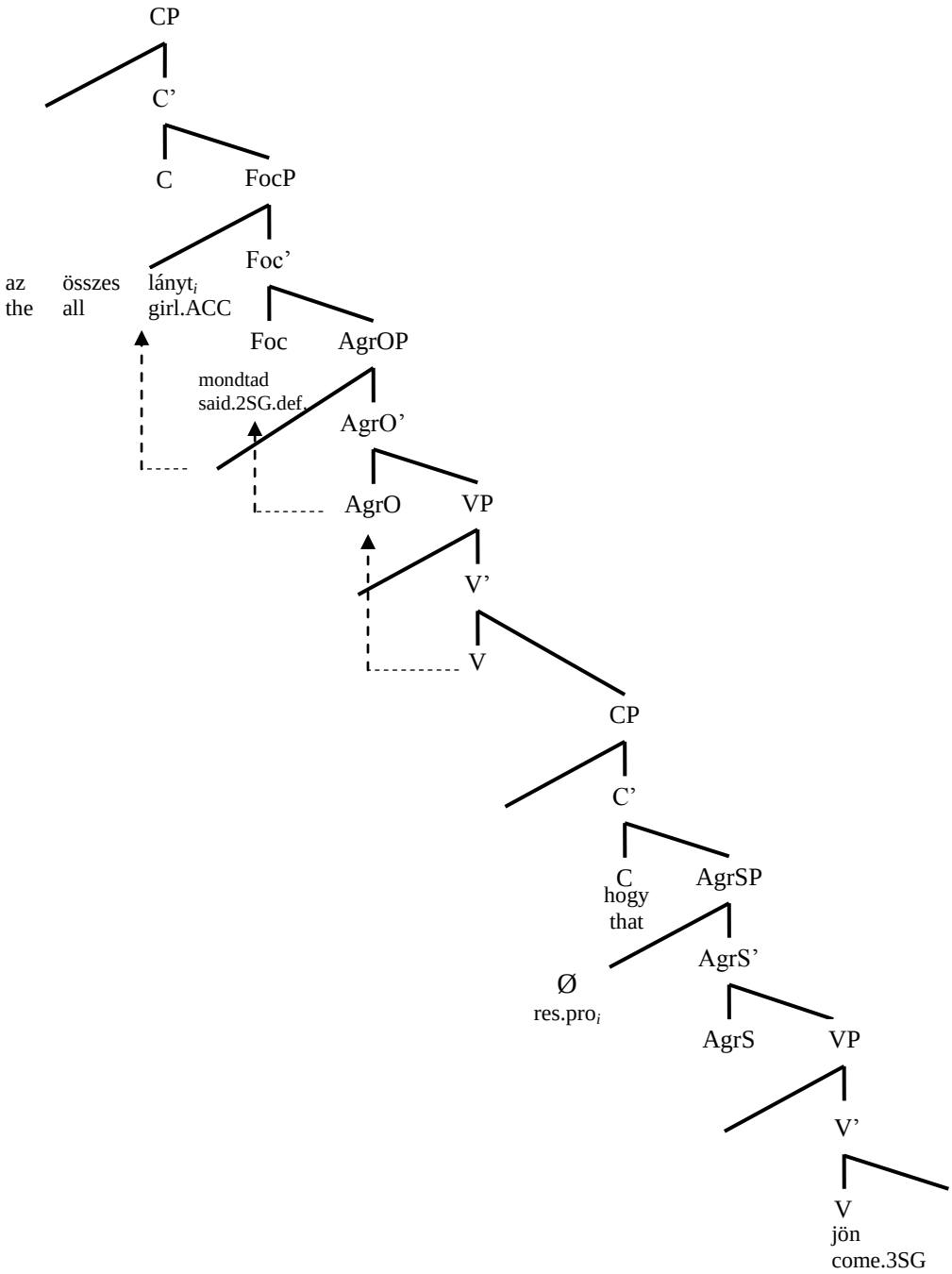
(15) Gervain's (2009) long-distance movement derivation of the mLUF (without number mismatch)



Gervain's (2009) movement derivation is similar to Lipták's (1998) multiple case checking account, but Gervain does not assume that the embedded C head is specified for the features of an argument DP. In (15) the embedded subject moves successive cyclically to the matrix focus position and checks its case both in the embedded Spec,AgrSP and in the matrix Spec,AgrOP. This is possible in Gervain's (2009) account because the long-moved DP leaves its case on its trace. Therefore, it is allowed to check case again in the matrix clause. Gervain argues that the [-take case]-setting, however, is regarded as a marked parameter option.

Next I turn to the resumptive derivation of the same example (cf. (14)). Based on the labelled bracketing representation in Gervain (2009), the tree structure in (16) can be assigned to it.

(16) Gervain (2009) resumptive derivation of the mLUF (without number mismatch)



As is shown in (16) the embedded subject surfacing in the matrix clause is also base-generated in the matrix clause, i.e. in Spec,AgrOP. This is also the base-generation site of the expletive that surfaces in the corresponding EA-construction in Gervain's (2009) account. The long-focused DP checks accusative case there and it moves further to Spec,FocP to check its focus feature. The higher DP binds a null resumptive pronoun in the embedded subject position. As is clear from the representation, long-distance movement is not involved in this derivation.

Gervain (2009) supports the double analysis of the 'matrix case' structure shown in (14) with the results of an empirical survey in which the structure was tested for movement effects (cf. section 7.5.2). She has found that a group of speakers systematically accepts this construction in island configurations while another group of spekares does not.

Next I turn to the derivation of mLUF with number mismatch. As pointed out in section 5.1, LUF involving number mismatch has been regarded as a special type of LUF in the (recent) literature on long subject focus fronting since Gervain (2002).

For this type of mLUF Gervain (2002, 2009) proposes the same resumptive derivation (cf. (16)) as for the mLUF *without* number mismatch.

(17) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ Az összes lányt$_i$] mondtad hogy res.pro$_i$ jönnek.
the all girl.**ACC** said.2SG.def. that come.3PL
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

Gervain (2009) argues that the resumptive can either inherit the grammatical 'singular' feature of the focused subject DP surfacing in the matrix clause (cf. (16)) or it can inherit its semantic 'plural' feature (cf. (17)).

Although Gervain claims that the resumptive cannot be overtly present in the structure, Den Dikken (2006, 2010) reports that an overt (plural) resumptive pronoun is marginally acceptable for a number of speakers in this type of construction, e.g.:[75]

(18) ??[$_{Spec,FocP}$ Az összes lányt$_i$] mondtad hogy **ők**$_i$ jönnek.
the all girl.**ACC** said.2SG.def that they come.3PL
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

Gervain's new data and her resumptive analysis inspired Den Dikken (2010) to explore further theoretical options of forming A'-dependencies in Hungarian. In the next section I introduce Den Dikken's 'concord' analysis of mLUF without number mismatch.

5.2.3 A SINGLE BASE GENERATION (CONCORD) ANALYSIS (DEN DIKKEN 2010)

Den Dikken (2010) analyzes the mLUF without number mismatch as a hidden scope marking construction. The proposal that in long focus constructions the long-focused constituent occupies the scopal position that is otherwise taken by the expletive has been put forward by various authors (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, 1998; Lipták 1998; Horváth 1995, 1998, 2000, Lipták and Zimmermann (2007)).[76] Where Den Dikken's (2010) analysis differs from the above mentioned ones is the introduction of the operation 'concord' in the derivation of the scope-marking construction.

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[75] I also find such constructions to be acceptable.

[76] Lipták and Zimmermann (2007) claim that in a type of EA, viz. in adjunct noun associate clauses the expletive is a scope-marker and give a detailed analysis of these constructions. I adopt their analysis and assume that a focused expletive is a scope marker in EA. Consider the following question-answer pair:

(i) A: **MIT** mondott hogy **MIT** kapott?
what.ACC said.3SG.indef that what.ACC got.3SG.indef
'What did he say he had got?'

(ii) B: **AZT** mondta hogy **AUTÓT** kapott.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def that car.ACC got.3SG.indef
'He said that he had got a car.'

The examples above show that both the wh-scope marker in the partial wh-structure in (i) (i.e. *mit* in the matrix clause) and the expletive in the EA in (ii) (i.e. *azt*) are in the structural focus position of the matrix clause. In this position *azt* marks the scope of the focused phrase in the embedded clause. Note that the higher 'mit' in (i) and 'azt' in (ii) occupy the same position.

Den Dikken claims that the higher DP is a scope marker in disguise in this type of LUF. An example of a scope-marking construction (partial wh-movement, cf. Horváth 1995) is shown in (19). Example (20) is the LUF counterpart of this wh-movement construction. Den Dikken (2010) argues that long focus fronting, just like partial wh-movement, involves two separate DPs, each base-generated in its own clause.

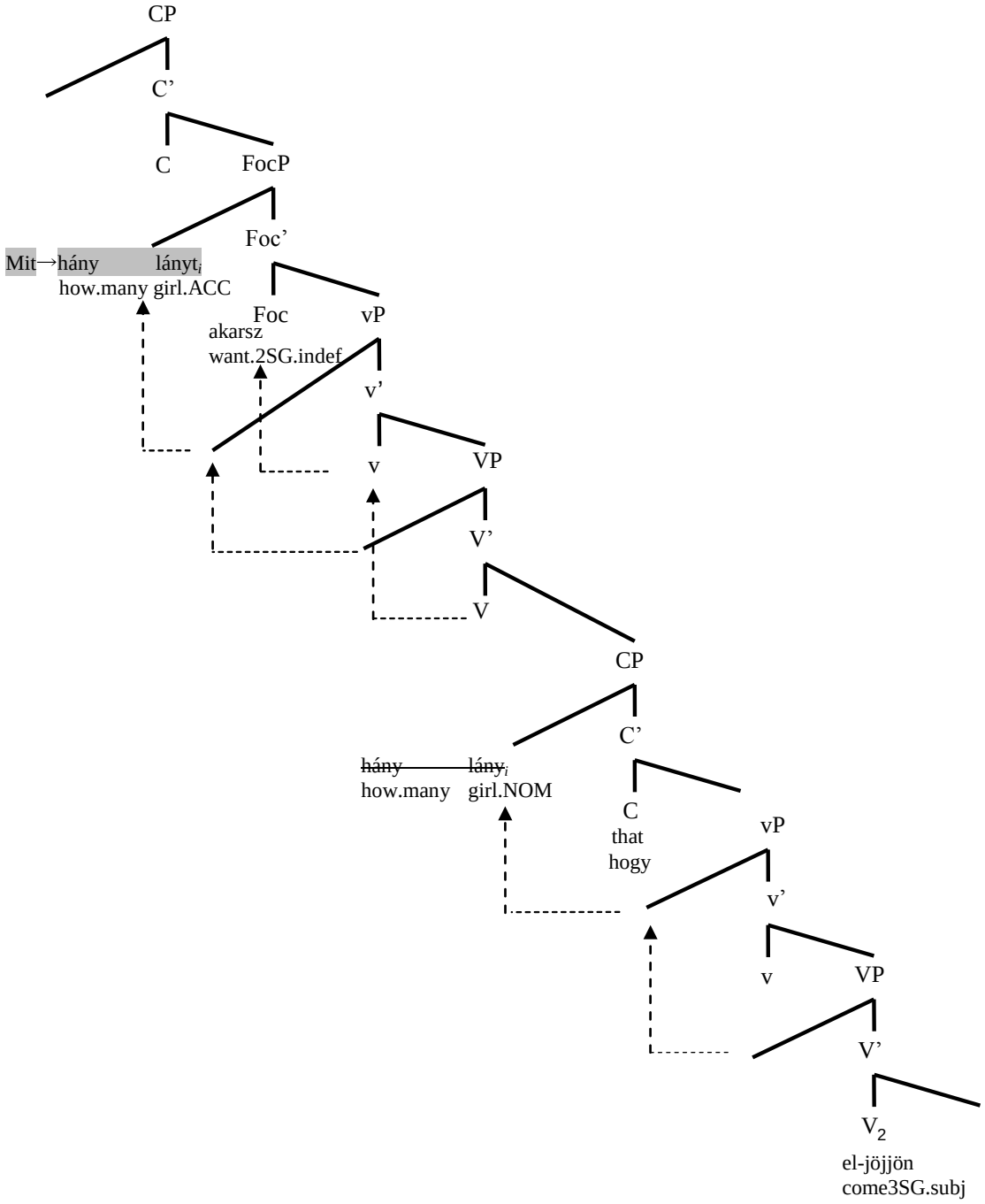
(19) **MIT** akarsz hogy **HÁNY** **LÁNY** jöjjön el ?
what.ACC want.2SG.indef that how.many girl.NOM come.subj.3SG PV
'How many girls do you want that they come?'

(20) **HÁNY** **LÁNYT** akarsz hogy $e_{\mathbf{NOM}}$ el-jöjjön?
how.many girl.ACC want.2SG.indef that PV.come.3SG
'How many girls do you want that they come?'

In other words, there is no long-distance movement involved in the derivation of this type of mLUF. Den Dikken suggests that by a mechanism called concord all the features of the lower DP are transmitted onto the higher DP (i.e. the semantically empty scope marking element). This type of concord does not involve case as the scope-marker *mit* 'what' in (19) has its own case assigned by the matrix verb. Given that as a result of this concord relation the higher DP has become featurally identical to the lower one (i.e. mit in (19) has become identical to *hány lányt* 'how many girls' in (20) except for case), the latter is deleted, thus creating the illusion of long-distance movement.[77] Based on the labelled bracketing Den Dikken (2010) provides for the above sentence, the tree structure in (21) can be assigned to it. Concord between the scope marker and the long-focused subject is marked via grey shading. The direction of feature transmission in indicated by an arrow (i.e. *mit*→*hány lányt*). I do not indicate verb movement in the embedded clause as it is irrelevant for the derivation.

[77] Den Dikken uses wh-phrases in all of his LUF examples. Wh-movement in Hungarian behaves like focus fronting (cf. Brody 1995, see also section 1.1).

(21) Den Dikken's (2010) concord analysis of the mLUF (without number mismatch)



The main steps of the derivation are the following: the wh-constituent (i.e. the lower DP) checks nominative case in the embedded clause. Then it A'-moves to the Spec,CP position of the embedded clause where it engages in a concord relation with the wh-scope marker generated in the Spec of the matrix VP. Concord can only take place under closest c-command in this account (following Felser 2001). The lower DP is deleted as a result of all of its features being shared (under concord) with the wh-scope marker, except for case. Because the scope marker has an accusative case feature of its own, the higher DP is spelled out bearing the accusative case marker. Finally, the higher DP moves to the matrix Spec,FocP.[78,79]

[78]Note that Den Dikken (2010) does not use AgrP projections. Instead, he base-generates the higher DP (i.e. the scope marker in the corresponding partial wh-movement construction in his analysis) in Spec,VP.

[79] The embedded clause does not contain a focused constituent as indicated by the lack of verb-preverb inversion.

This results in the surface string shown in (20). I will adopt the main components of this derivation in my analysis of mLSF.

After introducing the main analyses of mLUF, I now turn to the discussion of eLUF. As mentioned in 5.1, eLUF has only received long-distance movement analyses in the literature so far. Of the eLUF constructions introduced in the previous chapter long subject fronting and long adverbial fronting (but not long oblique complement fronting, cf. section 4.6.2.1) have been analyzed in previous works.

5.3 PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF THE ELUF

5.3.1 LONG-DISTANCE MOVEMENT IN LONG SUBJECT FOCUSING

In this section I present Den Dikken's (2010) account. However, there are numerous other analyses of this type of LUF (e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Gervain 2009, Szűcs 2012).[80]
An example of eLUF with long subject frocusing is shown in (22).

(22) **HÁNY** **LÁNY** akarod hogy e_{NOM} el-jöjjön?
How.many girl.NOM want.2SG.def that PV-come.subj.3SG
'How many girls do you want to come?'

(Den Dikken 2010: 5)

In this account eLUF is derived by long-distance movement of the subject DP out of the embedded clause into the matrix Spec,vP in one fell swoop. Recall from section 4.2.2 that embedded case on the long-focused element correlates with the lack of object definiteness agreement between the matrix verb and the long-focused phrase. On the other hand, the definite form of the matrix verb (i.e. *akarod* 'want') suggests that it agrees with a definite direct object (cf. section 2.5). In Den Dikken's account the trigger for this agreement is the finite embedded clause.

He claims that finite CPs count as definite and non-finite ones as indefinite as shown in the following examples:

(23) Szeret-em (azt) hogy szerelmes vagyok.
love.1.SG.**def** that.ACC that in.love be.1SG
'I love to be/being in love.'

[80] In Gervain's (2009) account, for example, the only difference between the (movement) derivation of the mLUF and the eLUF is that in the former the long-moved subject does not take along its case (i.e. it is specified as [- take case] as shown in section 5.2.2) while in the latter it does (i.e. it is specified as [+ take case]). She associates the labelled bracketing in (ii) with the structure of the example in (i).

(i) **AZ ÖSSZES LÁNY** mondtad hogy e_{NOM} jön.
the all girl.**NOM** said.2SG.def. that come.3SG
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

(ii) $[_{CP}$ $[_{FP}$ $[_{DP}$ AZ ÖSSZES $LÁNY_i^{NOM}]$ mondtad, $[_{AgrOP}$ $t_i^{ACC}][_{CP}$ hogy t_i^{NOM} jön]].

(Gervain 2009: 690)

In (ii) the long-focused subject DP takes its case along. Therefore, it is not allowed to check it again in the matrix clause (i.e. no multiple case checking takes place).

(Den Dikken 2010: 5)

(24) Szeret-ek feladatokat megoldani.
love.1SG.**indef** tasks.ACC solve.inf
'I love solving tasks.'

Den Dikken rejects successive cyclic A'-movement through Spec,CP in structures like eLUF where, in his analysis, the v head agrees with the embedded CP. He adopts Rackowski&Richards' (2005) account in which agreement between the matrix v and the embedded CP is sufficient for extracting constituents out of the embedded clause without locality constraints. This follows from the more general Principle of Minimal Compliance (cf. Richards 1997):

(25) *Principle of Minimal Compliance*

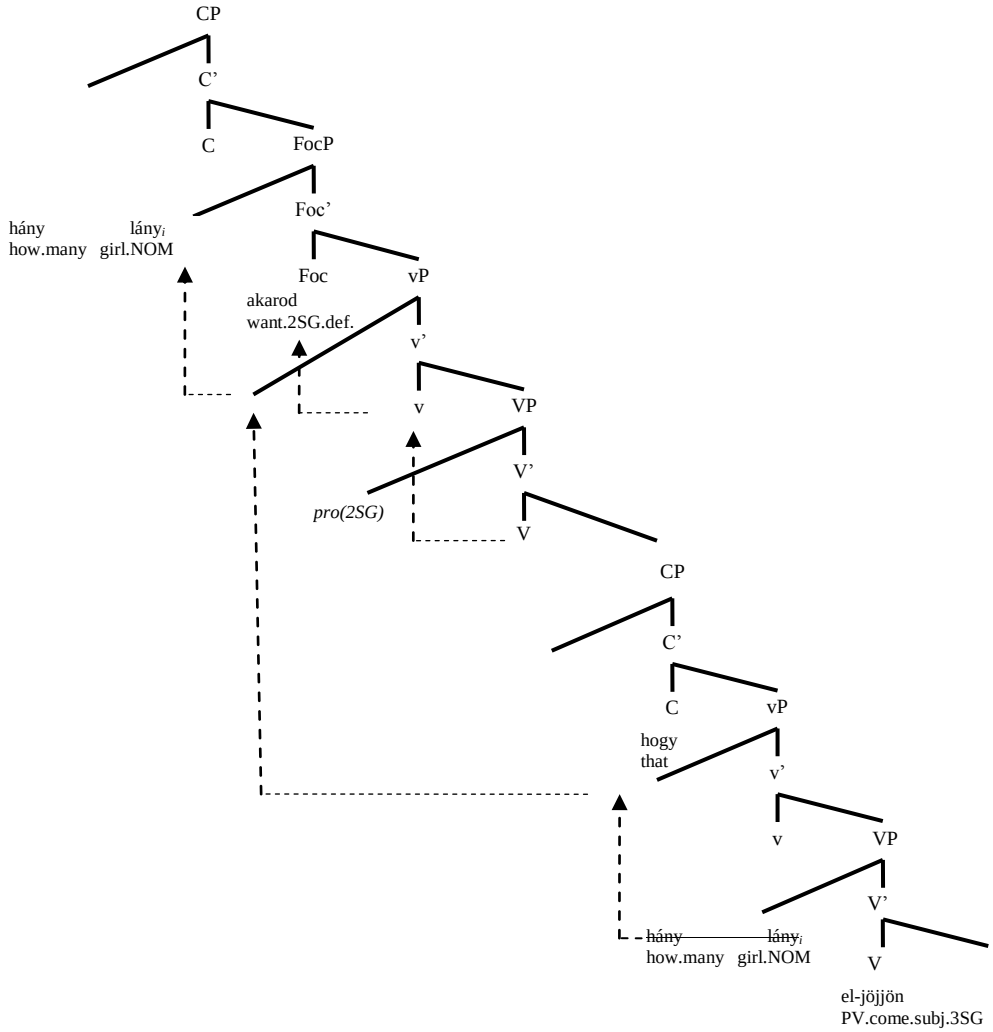
> For any dependency D that obeys constraint C, any elements that are relevant for determining whether D obeys C can be ignored for the rest of the derivation for purposes of determining whether any other dependency D' obeys C.

(Richards 1997)

In other words, the constituent to be long-focused should obey locality constraints but the fact that the matrix verb agrees with the embedded CP exempts it from doing so.

The tree representation in (26) showing the steps of the movement derivation has been made on the basis of the labelled bracketing in Den Dikken (2010: 5). It is a representation of example (22).

(26) Den Dikken's (2010) movement analysis of eLUF



In this derivation the embedded subject is base-generated in Spec,VP in the embedded clause. Then it moves to the embedded Spec,vP and from there in one step into the matrix Spec,vP. Then it moves further to the matrix Spec,FocP to check its focus feature.

Next I turn to the derivation of eLUF in which an adverbial has been long-focused.

5.3.2 LONG-DISTANCE MOVEMENT IN LONG ADVERBIAL FOCUSING

In this section I introduce Lipták's (1998) analysis. Recall from section 5.2.1 that she assumes that the embedded C-head is specified for nominal features both in LUF and in EA. In addition to mLUF Lipták (1998) also analyzes LUF involving the long focusing of inherently case marked/oblique DPs (cf. (27)). As discussed in section 4.6.3.3, in such constructions only the 'embedded case' variant of LUF is grammatical and the matrix verb must be in its definite object agreement form.

(27) **LONDONBA** mondta/*mondott János hogy e_{INTO} megy.
London.INTO said.SG.def./*indef. John.NOM that go.3SG
'It is London where John said he goes.'

(Lipták 1998: 5)

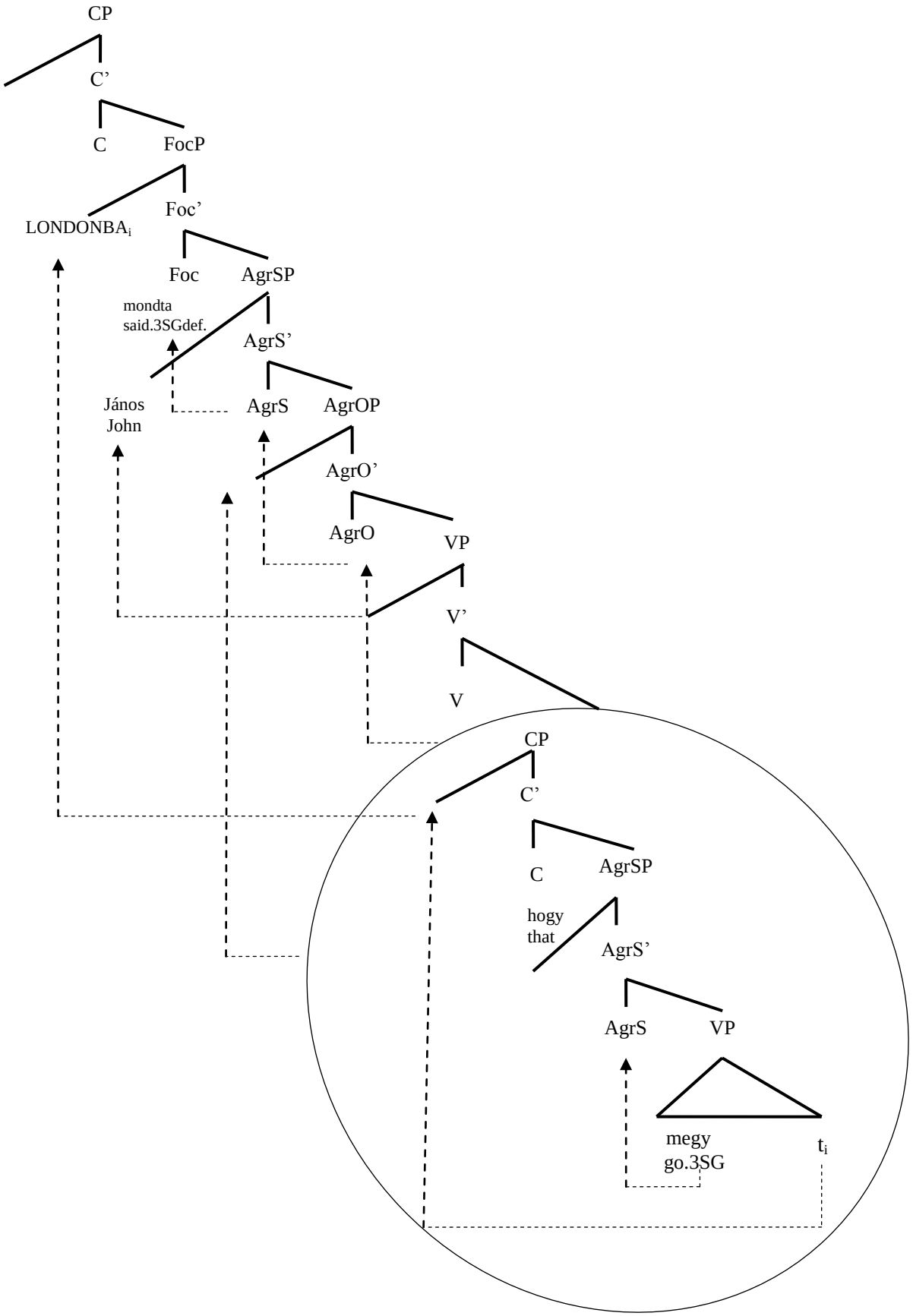
Lipták regards structurally case-marked constituents as having a +D feature (cf. section 5.2.1) while the +D feature of inherently case-marked constituents (cf. *Londonba* 'to London' in (27)) is not visible. As a result, such constituents cannot check the features of the embedded C (including case), which in turn means that they do not trigger matrix case assignment but always retain their (embedded) case. In these cases the whole embedded CP raises to the matrix Spec, AgrOP at LF in order to check the features C is specified for (i.e. +D, +phi and +case features). The DP then moves further to the matrix Spec,FocP to check its focus feature.

Based on the labelled bracketing in (28) that Lipták uses to explain the structure of (27), the tree representation in (29) could be associated with it.

(28) $[_{FP}\ PP_i\ [_{AgrOP}\ [_{CP}\ t_i\ [_{C'}\ C\ [_{VP}\ t_i\ ]]]_j\ [_{VP}\ t_j\ ]]]]]$
+F +D +ACC +DEF

(Lipták 1998: 10)

(29)


CP
C'
C
FocP
LONDONBA$_i$
Foc'
Foc
AgrSP
mondta
said.3SGdef.
AgrS'
János
John
AgrS
AgrOP
AgrO'
AgrO
VP
V'
V
CP
C'
C
AgrSP
hogy
that
AgrS'
AgrS
VP
megy
go.3SG
t$_i$

Moreover, Lipták also argues that this analysis also applies to the long focus fronting of adverbials and of oblique complements. In her account the main difference between argument and adjunct long focus fronting is that arguments bear a +D feature while adjuncts do not.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter some recent analyses of mLUF (with and without number mismatch) and of the eLUF were presented. These will be relevant for my analysis of LSF in Chapter 8.

I have shown that recent research (e.g. Gervain 2002, 2009 and Den Dikken 2010) associates the derivation of LUF both with long-distance movement and with base-generation. While each of the works on LUF mentions speaker variation related to the structure, Gervain (2009) is the first to describe it in detail and integrate it in her analysis. Her findings concerning speaker variation will be described in section 7.5.2.

Based on the data patterns discussed in Chapter 4 I assumed that LUF and LSF share the same derivation. As follows from this, I expect that LSF, just like LUF, is also subject to speaker variation. As I will show in Chapter 7, it is indeed the case. In the next chapter I present a preliminary analysis of LSF based on its properties discussed in Chapter 4. After that, I discuss the results of two questionnaires. Chapter 8 then presents my complete analysis of LSF

.

6 PREREQUISITES FOR THE ANALYSIS OF LSF

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I give a preliminary analysis of LSF based on the LSF data discussed so far in this dissertation.

In section 6.3 I outline the main directions of my analysis of the types of LSF introduced in Chapter 4. In section 6.2 I revisit the structural similarity between EA and LSF discussed in section 4.2. I propose an adapted version of previous analyses of EA (cf. section 4.2.3). My central claim is that the two main types of LSF (i.e. mLSF and eLSF) can be traced back not to a single type of EA as previously claimed in connection with LUF (cf. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998, Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010) but to two types. I describe the differences between the two types of EA in structural terms first and I claim that the difference between the two is related to two different base-generation sites for the expletive. After that I show that the structural difference distinguishing between two types of EA can also be found in the two types of LSF. Finally, section 6.4 summarizes the main conclusions of the chapter.

6.2 OUTLINE OF THE ANALYSIS OF LSF: MOVEMENT AND BASE-GENERATION

Recall from section 4.4 that the purpose of detecting structural patterns in LSF in Chapter 4 was to see whether those patterns can be associated with a base-generation or with a movement derivation. I assumed that matrix case marking on *CORE*, the possibility of resumptive insertion and number mismatch between *CORE* and *REM* suggest a base-generation derivation each. As follows from this, all matrix case types of LSF should be derived by a base-generation derivation. The mLSF is not problematic in this respect as all of its subtypes allow resumptive insertion and number mismatch (cf. section 4.5). Therefore, mLSF meets all my three criteria that suggest a base-generation derivation.

In Chapter 4 I also assumed that embedded case ending on *CORE*, the impossibility of resumptive insertion and number mismatch suggest a long-distance movement derivation. Based on these criteria I propose that those types of eLSF that do not allow resumptive insertion and number mismatch are derived by long-distance movement. This includes almost all types of the eLSF introduced in Chapter 4. However, one type of the eLSF, i.e. oblique complement fronting from an object clause (cf. (1) and (2)) shows characteristics of both base-generation and of long-distance movement.

(1) **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **(arra)** **újra** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(2) **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **új(ak)ra** számít.
car.SG.ONTO said.3SG.def that new.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects (some) new CARS.'

As is clear from (1) and (2), *CORE* bears embedded case, which I take to be a symptom of a long-distance movement derivation but it allows both resumptive insertion (cf. (1)) and number mismatch (cf. (2)), which I associated with a base-generation derivation. Based on these characteristics, I assume that the eLSF in which an oblique complement has been long focus

fronted from an object clause should also be derived via base-generation as it has two of the three characteristics suggesting this type of derivation.

Table 1 is a summary of the analyses I propose for the different types of LSF. The base-generation derivations are marked by light grey shading while the long-distance movement derivations are marked by dark grey shading.

			Grammaticality of mLSF	**Grammaticality of eLSF**
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

Table 1. My proposal concerning the derivation of the different types of LSF

Note that the LSF structures introduced in Chapter 4 have not been tested for movement effects at that point. It is, however, expected that LSF structures with a long-distance movement derivation would be sensitive to islands while LSF structures the derivation of which does not involve movement would not show island effects. In Chapter 7 I present the results of two empirical surveys which tested a number of LSF constructions in island configurations.

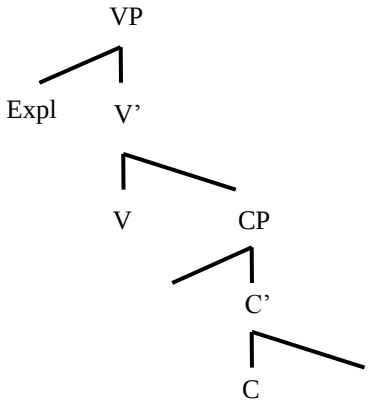
In what follows in this chapter, I first show that it is not only long focus constructions that come in two types but also EA, their underlying structure. Then I establish a link between the two types of LSF and the two types of EA.

6.3 TWO BASE-GENERATION SITES OF THE EXPLETIVE IN EA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON LSF

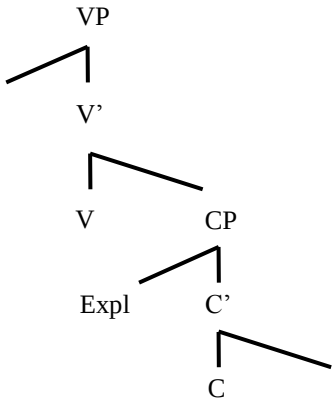
In this section I differentiate between two types of EA. I assume that the distinction between the two is based on whether it is the expletive introducing the embedded clause that is a thematic argument of the matrix verb (cf. Laczkó and Rákosi 2005, Szűcs 2012) or the embedded clause (CP) itself.[81] Technically, the difference between the two types of EA is related to the base-generation site of the expletive. I claim that in the type of EA in which the expletive is an argument of the matrix verb, it is base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP (cf.(3), see Den Dikken 2010) while in cases where it is not an argument, it is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP (cf. (4), see Lipták 1998). I label the former type 'DP argument' EA and the latter type 'CP argument EA'.

[81] I continue to use the term 'expletive' even in cases where I regard it as an argument of the matrix verb in order to preserve consistency with the previous chapters.

(3) *Base-generation site of the expletive in 'DP argument EA'*



(4) *Base-generation site of the expletive in 'CP argument EA'*



I assume that in 'DP argument' EA, as mentioned above, the matrix verb takes the expletive as its argument, i.e. it case-marks it and agrees with it in object definiteness. In 'CP argument' EA, on the other hand, the matrix verb takes a CP argument, it case-marks the expletive occupying the embedded Spec,CP and agrees with it in definiteness. This means that the two types of EA look the same: in EA the accusative-assigning matrix verb must be in its definite form (cf. (5)), regardless of whether it agrees with the expletive occupying the matrix Spec,VP or the embedded Spec,CP.

(5) (Azt) mondta Mari, hogy fekete macskát látott.
expl.ACC said.3SG.def Mary that black cat.ACC saw.3SG
'Mary said that she had seen a black cat.'

Next I briefly review the debate on the source of the definite form of the matrix verb in EA.

As observed in the previous literature (e.g. Den Dikken 2010), a finite CP triggers definite agreement while non-finite CPs do not agree with the matrix verb in definiteness. It was generally assumed that whenever the expletive is overt in the structure, the matrix verb agrees with it and not with the CP (e.g. Kenesei 1992, 1994, Den Dikken 2010). However, it is a debated issue what the matrix verb agrees with when the expletive does not surface in the

structure. Kenesei (1992, 1994) claims that this pronoun is always present in the structure of EA, even when it is not overt. In such cases, he argues, the expletive remains in post-verbal position where it can be dropped (cf. Kenesei 1992, 1994)). Den Dikken (2010), on the other hand, assumes that a non-overt expletive is not present in the structure of EA at any point of the derivation. He argues that the matrix verb agrees with the embedded finite CP in these cases, hence the definite form of the matrix verb.

My proposal, outlined in the first paragraph of this section, differs from previous ones in assuming two types of EA as a result of two types of the expletive.[82] Concerning the base-generation site of the expletive, I adopt Lipták's (1998) analysis (i.e. the embedded Spec,CP, cf. section 5.2.1) and Den Dikken's (2010) account (i.e. the matrix Spec,VP). Concerning the debate on whether the expletive is always present in the structure or not, I claim, similarly to Kenesei (1992, 1994) that it is always present in the EA structure. The proposal that the expletive, which is in form identical with the demonstrative pronoun is an argument of the matrix verb (cf. section 4.2.3), comes from Laczkó and Rákosi (2005) and Szűcs (2012).

In what follows in this section, I give a description of both types of EA and illustrate the structural difference between the two. As definiteness agreement can only apply when the verb assigns accusative case (cf. section 2.5.2), I first only consider EA with accusative-assigning matrix verbs.

I argue that 'DP argument' EA has the following main characteristics:

(6) Characteristics of 'DP argument' EA:

- The expletive must be overt.
- The complemetizer can be dropped.[83]

I assume that the expletive must be overt in this construction because a demonstrative pronoun is not subject to pro-drop.[84] As far as the droppability of the complementizer is concerned, I

[82] De Cuba and Ürögdi (2009) differentiate between two base-generation sites of the expletive in EA, too (i.e. Spec,cP and Spec,CP). However, they link the two options not to different syntactic characteristics of the expletive but to the factive/non-factive type of the matrix predicate. As in my examples of LSF (including the ones that were tested in the two questionnaires, cf. Chapter 7) none of the matrix predicates is of the factive type, this distinction is not relevant for my analysis.
For more details on the grouping of EA based on the factivity of the matrix predicate see also Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010).

[83] Unless an independent condition applies under which it cannot be dropped (cf. Kenesei 1992, 1994). For example, as pointed out in section 4.2.3, focusing in the matrix clause prohibits complementizer drop (cf. (i) and (ii), repeated from section 4.2.3).

(i) Tegnap Maritól azt hallottam, (hogy) új autót
yesterday Mary.from expl.ACC heard.1SG.def that new car.ACC
vesztek.
buy.2PL.indef
'Yesterday I heard from Mary that you were going to buy a new car.'

(ii) Azt MARITÓL/TEGNAP hallottam, *(hogy) új autót
expl.ACC Mary.from/yesterday heard.1SG.def that new car.ACC
vesztek.
buy.2PL.indef
'I heard FROM MARY/YESTERDAY that you were going to buy a new car.'

assume that it can be dropped because the embedded C head is an 'ordinary' C head in this type of EA (i.e. it is not specified for nominal features to be checked by the expletive, cf. Lipták (1998)).

On the other hand, I argue that the 'CP argument' EA has the following properties:

(7) Characteristics of 'CP argument' EA:

- The expletive is either overt or covert.
- The complementizer cannot be dropped.

For this type of EA I adopt Lipták's (1998) analysis claiming that the embedded C head contains nominal features that need to be checked by the expletive. Because of its nominal features, I assume, the complementizer cannot be dropped. Moreover, the reason why the expletive can be dropped in this type of EA is that in Hungarian subject and object pronouns are subject to *pro* drop.

Note that regardless of where the expletive is base-generated (i.e. in the matrix Spec,VP or in the embedded Spec, CP), it can move up to higher specifiers, i.e. there is no difference between the two types in this respect.

I argue that EA exploits one or both options, depending on two factors: (1) the case that the matrix verb assigns (i.e. nominative, accusative or oblique) and (2) the type of the matrix verb (bridge verb, cf. É. Kiss 2002; or verb of manner of speaking, cf. Kenesei 1994). In what follows I show that EA with nominative-assigning and oblique-assigning matrix predicates and EA with accusative-assigning non-bridge verbs comes in only one type while EA with accusative-assigning matrix bridge verbs comes in two types.

First I discuss EA with nominative-assigning matrix predicates (cf. (8) and (9)).

(8) **(Az)** nyilvánvaló nekem ***(hogy)** mindketten maradnak.
expl.NOM obvious DAT.1SG that both.of.them stay
'It's obvious to me that both of them are going to stay.'

(9) **(Az)** tilos/szabad/~~kell~~ Marinak ***(hogy)** felmenjen
expl.NOM forbidden/may.3SG/need.3SG Mary.DAT that PV.go.Subj.3SG
a padlásra.
the attic.ONTO
'It's forbidden for Mary to go to the attic.'
'Mary may/needs to go to the attick.'

As the examples show, the expletive can be dropped while the complementizer cannot. Based on what was said above, this suggests that the expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP, i.e. this type of EA comes the CP argument version.

Next I turn to EA with accusative-assigning matrix verbs. First I consider examples containing matrix verbs that are traditionally regarded as bridge verbs (cf. É. Kiss 2002).

(10) **(Azt)** mondta/állította **hogy** új autót vett.
expl.ACC said/claimed.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said/claimed that (s)he had bought a new car.'

[84] This is a stipulation based on the fact that 3rd person pronouns denoting inanimate entities (i.e. *az* 'that', *azok* 'those') are homophonous with true demonstartives (as well as with resumptive pronouns and expletives). I assume that true demonstratives cannot be dropped.

(11) Mondta/állította ***(hogy)** új autót vett.
said/claimed.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said/claimed that (s)he had bought a new car.'

(12) **Azt** mondta/állította **(hogy)** új autót vett.
expl.ACC said/claimed.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said/claimed that (s)he had bought a new car.'

As (10) shows, the expletive can be dropped. However, if the expletive is dropped, the complementizer must surface (cf. (11)). Based on my differentiation between two types of EA, this suggests that in (10) the expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP.
In (12) the expletive is overt. In this case the complementizer can be dropped. This suggests that in (12) the expletive is base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP in this case. To conclude, the above examples suggest that EA with accusative-assigning bridge verbs come in both structural types.

Accusative-assigning non-bridge verbs (e.g. verbs of manner of speaking like *motyog* 'mumble', *suttog* 'whisper', *ordít* 'shout'), however, come in only one type:

(13) **(Azt)** suttogta/ordította/motyogta ***(hogy)** új autót vett.
expl.ACC whispered/shouted/mumbled.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He whispered/shouted/mumbled that he had bought a new car.'

As the example shows, the expletive can be dropped while the complemetizer cannot. This suggests that the expletive in this type of EA can only be base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP but not in the matrix Spec,VP, i.e. it only has a CP argument EA version.

Next I discuss EA with oblique-assigning matrix verbs (cf. (14)).

(14) **Arra** számított **?(hogy)** új autót vesz.
expl.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new car.ACC buys.3SG.indef
'He expected to buy a new car.'

As an oblique-marked nominal phrase can never be pro-dropped in Hungarian (cf. sections 4.2.3 and 4.6), the droppability-test does not apply here. Complementizer drop on the other hand is possible, although it is degraded in EA with oblique-assigning matrix verbs (cf. (14)). From this pattern I conclude that EA with an oblique-assigning matrix verb can only have its expletive base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP, i.e. it comes only in the DP argument type of EA.

Although there are also independent conditions on the droppability of the complementizer and the expletive in EA (cf. Kenesei 1992, 1994), a consistent pattern of two types of EA can be discerned along the lines described above. To sum up, in this section, based on the combination of two previous analyses (cf. Lipták 1998 and Gervain 2009) I have introduced two theoretical options concerning the base-generation sites of the expletive in EA and I showed that some important syntactic characteristics predicted on the basis of this hypothetical distinction can indeed be attested in EA. Next I turn to the relevance of this distinction for the derivation of LSF.

As follows from the correlation between EA and LSF described in section 4.2.4, I assume that LSF constructions with an *accusative-assigning matrix bridge verb* have an underlying EA structure in which the expletive is either base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP or in the embedded Spec,CP. This is based on the two patterns I have found in (10)-(12). On the other hand, I assume that LSF structures with an *oblique-assigning matrix verb* have an underlying EA structure in which the expletive can only be base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP. This is based on the pattern shown in (14). LSF with *nominative-assigning matrix predicates* was found to

have an underlying EA in which the expletive can only be base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP, based on the pattern shown in (8) and (9).[85]

Let's focus on argument fronting for a moment. It is interesting from our point of view because it contains LSF types that are acceptable either in both main variants (i.e. 'matrix case' and 'embedded case') or only in the 'matrix case' variant. Comparing the proposed derivations of LSF with the proposed base-generation sites of the expletive in EA described in the previous section, it becomes clear that there is a close correspondence between the derivation of LSF and the base-generation site of the expletive in the underlying EA: EA in which the expletive is base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP can underlie LSF with a proposed base-generation derivation and EA in which the expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP can underlie LSF with a proposed long-distance movement derivation.[86]

Table 2 summarizes the correlations between the two types of EA and the two types of LSF in light of the preliminary analysis of LSF I proposed in section 6.2.

		EA		**Type of LSF**		**Proposed derivation of LSF**
		Expletive drop	**Complementizer drop**	**mLSF**	**eLSF**	
Nominative-assigning matrix verb		yes	no	*	✓	Long-distance movement
Accusative-assigning matrix verb	**Verbs of saying**	yes	no	*	✓	Long-distance movement
		no	yes	✓	*	Base-generation
	Verbs of manner of speaking	yes	no	*	✓	Long-distance movement
Oblique-assigning matrix verb		no	yes	✓	*	Base-generation

Table 2. Correlations between the two types of EA and the two types of LSF in long argument focusing

Finally, in what follows I address the question why the expletive is necessary in EA structures where it occurs in the embedded Spec,CP. My assumption is that verbs that can serve as matrix

[85] However, LSF with a nominative-assigning matrix predicate is outside the scope of this dissertation (cf. section 4.1).

[86] Although I do not analyze LSF constructions containing subject clauses in this dissertation as they are marginal constructions in Hungarian (cf. section 4.1), this correlation also holds between EA with subject clauses (cf. (8) and (9)) and LSF with subject clauses as they can only come in the 'embedded case' but not in the 'matrix case' variant (cf. (i)).

(i) **AUTÓ-*ø /-T** nyilvánvaló hogy **újat** vett.
car.NOM/ACC obvious that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'It is obvious that he bought a new CAR.'

This suggests that their undelying EA has its expletive base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP and, according to the correlation between the 'CP-argument EA' and the 'embedded case' types of LSF shown in the main text, it is likely to be associated with a long-distance movement derivation.

verbs in EA can only take nominal arguments. I also assume that in addition to NomPs, they can also select for CPs with a C head carrying nominal features but not for ordinary CPs (i.e. CPs whose C head lack those features). The role of the expletive, then, as pointed out at the beginning of this section is to check the nominal features of the C head, to receive the case assigned by the matrix verb and to agree with it.

This analysis also explains why certain constructions (e.g. example (15)), repeated from section 4.2.4.) cannot have an EA version and, as a consequence a LUF (cf. (16)) and LSF (cf. (17)) version, either.

(15) Pista (*azt) szólt-ø/(*-a) hogy **ÚJ** **AUTÓT** vett.
Pista expl.ACC said.3SG.indef/def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'Pista said that he had bought a NEW CAR.'

(16) ***ÚJ** **AUTÓT** szólt-ø/-a hogy vett.
new car.ACC said.3SG.indef that bought.3SG.indef
INTENDED: *'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a NEW CAR.'*

(17) ***AUTÓT** szólt-ø/-a hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
INTENDED: *'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'*

Note that *szól* 'say/let somebody know', which cannot occur as a matrix verb in EA (cf. (15)) cannot take a NomP argument, either (cf. (18)).

(18) * Mari három dolgot szólt.
Mary three thing.ACC said.3SG
INTENDED: *'Mary told (us) three things.'*

This is in line with my proposal described in the preceding paragraph: verbs that can occur in EA can only take a nominal argument (i.e. a NomP or a nominalised CP). The verb *szól* cannot have a NomP argument, therefore, it is not compatible with the type of expletive (a NomP), which is an argument in the matrix clause. The fact that *szól* is compatible with an embedded Spec,CP but not with an expletive suggests that this C head lacks nominal features (i.e. otherwise the expletive would be necessary to check those features).
On the other hand, verbs that serve as matrix verbs in EA (e.g. *mond* 'say', *állít* 'claim', *mesél* 'tell' and *remél* 'hope' in (19)) can all have a NomP argument (cf. (20)).

(19) Mari azt mondta/állította/mesélte/remélte, hogy János díjat kap.
Mary expl.ACC said/claimed/told/hoped.3SG.def that John prize.ACC get.3SG
'Mary said/claimed/told us/hoped that John would win a prize.'

(20) Mari három dolgot mondott/ állított/mesélt/remélt.
Mary three things.ACC said/claimed/told/hoped.3SG.indef
'Mary said/claimed/told us/hoped for three things.

Verbs of manner of speaking are also able to take a NomP argument (cf. (22)) and they are also suitable for forming EA (cf. (21)).

(21) Mari azt ordította/suttogta/motyogta, hogy János meg-érkezett.
Mary expl.ACC shouted/whispered/mumbled.3SG.def that John PV.arrived
'Mary shouted/whispered/mumbled that John had arrived.'

(22) Mari három dolgot ordított/suttogott/motyogott.
Mary three things.ACC shouted/whispered/mumbled.3SG.indef
'Mary shouted/whispered/mumbled three things.'

To sum up, my analysis of the two types of EA can explain why certain verbs cannot form either type of this construction. This is relevant for my analysis of LSF in that constructions that do not have an EA version, cannot have an LSF/LUF version, either (cf. section 4.2.4.).

6.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, based on the main syntactic characteristics of LSF shown in Chapter 4, I have grouped them into 'base-generation' types and 'long-distance movement' types. I have proposed that there are two types of EA based on the base-generation site of the expletive (i.e. the matrix Spec,VP and the embedded Spec,CP). I have claimed that the 'matrix case' types of LSF should be associated with an underlying DP argument EA and the 'embedded case' types of LSF with an underlying CP argument EA, except for one construction (oblique complement fronting from an object clause). As the 'matrix case' types of LSF were all categorized as 'base-generation' types and the 'embedded case' types of LSF (except for the one construction mentioned above) as 'movement' types, I suggested that the 'base-generation' – 'movement' distinction in LSF has to do with the base-generation site of the expletive in the EA underlying the given LSF construction.

I will not provide a full analysis of EA in this dissertation as it would lead us too far afield. Still, I would like to point out that it is a widely held view in the generative literature that expletives constitute a heterogeneous category (e.g. Bennis 1986, Holmberg 2000, Van Craenenbroeck 2011). Consequently, it would not be surprising that the Hungarian EA construction makes use of two different derivations as a result of two different types of the expletive. In this chapter I have shown that the distribution of the droppability of the complementizer and of the expletive in several subtypes of EA is compatible with two derivational options in which the expletive can be base-generated in two positions. This question would be an interesting topic for further research. For my purposes here - based on what was said above - I assume that the two types of LSF can be traced back to the two types of EA distinguished in this chapter.

7 EMPIRICAL RESULTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the results of two empirical surveys. The primary goal of both questionnaires was the same: to find out whether the distribution of the long-distance movement/base-generation derivation outlined in the previous chapter can be supported by empirical data. The questionnaires tested long argument fronting but they did not contain test sentences for long adjunct NomP focusing. While the two questionnaires applied two different methodologies, their results point to the same direction, i.e. both of them support the base-generation/long-distance movement distinction in the derivation of LSF as proposed in the previous chapter.

Questionnaire 1 involved 83 informants and it used the 5-point scale method, perhaps the most common method of grammaticality judgment testing in generative linguistics. Section 7.2 briefly introduces questionnaire 1 and summarizes its results relevant for my analysis of LSF. A comprehensive description of this questionnaire showing all its test sentences and the scores they received can be found in Appendix 1.

Questionnaire 2 was filled out by 88 native speakers. It applied the magnitude estimation method, which has recently been introduced in grammaticality judgment testing. Section 7.3 summarizes the most important information about this method and discusses the results relevant for my analysis of LSF. A more detailed description of the methodology and design of this questionnaire is shown in Appendix 2, which also contains all the test sentences.

Section 7.4 reviews the most important findings of both questionnaires.

This chapter ends with a short appendix (cf. section 7.5) comparing the nature of speaker variation found in the previous literature on LUF to the kind of speaker variation I found in my questionnaires.

7.2 QUESTIONNAIRE 1

7.2.1 DESCRIPTION

As mentioned above, questionnaire 1 was distributed among eighty-three native speakers at the College of Nyíregyháza in March-April 2011. Approximately eighty percent of the informants permanently live in North-Eastern Hungary and can therefore be regarded as speakers of one regional dialect.

The informants also constitute a relatively homogeneous group in terms of age and occupation: ninety-four percent were aged between nineteen and twenty-five years and they were students at the above-mentioned institution. The remaining six per–cent of the informants were teachers aged between 31 and 60 years.

The questionnaire used the 5-point scale method with 1 being ungrammatical and 5 being fully grammatical. This scale division seemed to be the most straightforward option as each native speaker is familiar with the 5-point scale used in the Hungarian educational grading system at all levels.

The questionnaire contained ninety-one test items in nine main questionnaire sections and thirty-two fillers. For a detailed description of questionnaire 1 the reader is referred to Appendix 1.

7.2.2 METHODOLOGY

As pointed out in section 4.2.2, LSF and LUF are substandard, marked structures in comparison with their standard Hungarian correlate, i.e. EA (cf. section 4.2.3). Therefore, it was expected that long focus constructions would receive lower scores than EA on the five-point scale. This was indeed found to be the case. The judgements of LSF were compared to those of EA. The most frequently used rating (i.e. the modus) of the EA test sentence below was 5 (i.e. 'perfectly acceptable'):

(1) Azt mondta hogy új autót vett.
Expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

LSF in general, as expected, received lower acceptability scores. In order to take into account the marked status of this construction, I set the bar lower for considering those examples grammatical. In what follows I introduce two simple criteria I applied to define the grammaticality of the test sentences in questionnaire 1. The first criterion is a general one that needs to apply first:

(2) *General criterion of ungrammaticality in questionnaire 1*

A structure is regarded as categorically ungrammatical if both of the following conditions hold:

- modus=1 or 2
- average <2

For example, sentence (3) has the following parameters: modus=3, average=3.32. As its modus is higher than 2 and its average is not below 2, it meets the general criterion of grammaticality.

(3) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

Note that sentence (4) (modus=2, average=2.74) also passes this filter, even though it only satisfies the criterion related to average.

(4) **AUTÓT** hallott hogy örülnének **egy** **újnak**.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that would.be.pleased.3PL a new.DAT
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

The second criterion is a more specific one allowing me to detect speaker variation. It applies to those sentences that are not filtered out by the general criterion of ungrammaticality in (5).

(5) *Cut-off point of grammaticality in questionnaire 1*

The cut-off point for grammaticality is 3. If a test sentence scores ≥3 for an informant, then that informant is regarded to accept the structure.

For example, if sentence (3) has been rated at ≥3 by thirty informants and <3 by fifty informants, it means that thirty informants accepted the structure while fifty did not accept it. Note that (2)

applies to the average (and modus) score of a sentence for the entire group of informants while (5) applies to scores given by individual informants.
The second criterion will be particularly important for the discussion of speaker variation in section 7.5. In the next section the second criterion will be used to show how the *majority* of speakers rated a given structure. When a structure is referred to as 'ungrammatical'/'unacceptable', it means that it did not pass the filter in (2). Those test sentences that are not filtered out by (2) are considered acceptable (even though not necessarily *generally* acceptable). For the exact scores and percentages of speakers rating a structure at one of the scores between 1 to 5 the reader is invited to consult Appendix 1.

7.2.3 RESULTS

7.2.3.1 DESCRIPTION AND RATINGS OF 6 BASELINE TYPES OF LSF

In this section I first describe the baseline LSF constructions that were tested in questionnaire 1, then I show what proportion of the informants accepted these structures.

Of the baseline LSF structures questionnaire 1 included four subtypes of the mLSF (cf. (6)-(9)) and two subtypes of the eLSF (cf. (10)-(11)).[87] Note that in these examples (i.e. from (6) to (11)) *REM* occupies a preverbal position in the embedded clause. The same structures were also tested with *REM* in post-verbal position in questionnaire 1 (cf. (12)-(17)).

First I leave out the judgments in the following examples, which were my test sentences. I will discuss their acceptability below.
mLSF:

(6) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

(7) **AUTÓT** hallott hogy **újnak** örülnének.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(8) **AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újat** kap.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.ACC receive.3SG.indef
'(S)he expected to receive a new car.

[87] In addition to this, two filler LSF structures with agreement violations were also included. In example (i) *CORE* bears matrix case but the matrix verb does not agree with it, which violates the case/agreement correlation described in section 3.4.1. In example (ii) *CORE* bears matrix case and the matrix verb is in its indefinite form, which is not an option in the 'embedded case' type of LSF (cf. section **Error! Reference source not found.**). These structures, were indeed found to be ungrammatical, as expected:

(i) * **AUTÓT** hallotta hogy **újnak** örülnének.
car.ACC heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(ii) * **AUTÓNAK** hallott hogy **újnak** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

The general criterion for ungrammaticality introduced in section 7.2.2 filters these examples out: both of them received '1' as the modus answer and their averages are also below 2 (i.e. 1.86 for (i) and 1.77 for (ii)).

(9) **AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újjal** dicsekedhet.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.INSTR boast.can.3SG.indef
'S)he expected to be able to boast of a new car.'

eLSF:

(10) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

(11) **AUTÓNAK** hallotta hogy **újnak** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

As is clear from examples (6)-(9), the test sentences of the mLSF differed primarily with respect to the case that the matrix verb and the embedded verb assign. In particular, in (6) both the matrix and the embedded verb assign accusative case to their complement (i.e. to *CORE* and to *REM*); in (7) the matrix verb assigns accusative case and the embedded case assigns dative case; in (8) the matrix verb assigns allative case and the embedded verb accusative case and in (9) the matrix verb assigns allative case while the embedded verb assigns instrumental case. The latter two examples were included in order to see to what extent LSF is acceptable with an oblique-assigning matrix verb. Recall from section 5.1 that long focus constructions with an oblique-assigning matrix verb (cf. (8) and (9)) have not been described and analyzed before.

As far as the eLSF is concerned, the case options are more restricted: *CORE* and *REM* must bear the same case and this variant is only possible with an accusative-assigning matrix verb (cf. section 4.5.4). In (10) the embedded verb assigns accusative case while in (11) it assigns an oblique one (i.e. dative). These examples were included to find out whether the type of the *embedded* case (i.e. here accusative/oblique) influences the acceptability of the eLSF.

Before turning to the acceptance rate of the above constructions, it should be checked whether any of them are ruled out by the general criterion of grammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2). As the averages of the six above structures were all above 2 (cf. Appendix 1), they all pass this filter, i.e. it is plausible to assume that at least a group of speakers finds ~~each of~~ them acceptable.

Table 1 presents a summary of the ratings of each of the above LSF constructions.

	Example number	**Case of *CORE* – Case of *REM***	**% of informants accepting the structure** (≥3)
mLSF	(6)	ACC-ACC	75.9%
	(7)	ACC-OBL	49.39%
	(8)	OBL-ACC	85.54%
	(9)	OBL_1-OBL_2	54.22%
eLSF	(10)	ACC-ACC	43.37%
	(11)	OBL_1-OBL_1	30.12%

Table 1. Ratings of baseline LSF structures with a preverbal REM in questionnaire 1

As table 1 shows, the acceptance rates of the 'matrix case' types of LSF proved to be clearly higher than those of the 'embedded case' variants. Of the mLSF (6) and (8) were found acceptable for the vast majority of the informants (i.e. 75.9% and 85.54%, respectively) but (7)

and (9) were also found acceptable by around half of the speakers (i.e. 49.39% and 54.22%, respectively). Of the eLSF examples (10) was found acceptable by 43.37% of the informants. Example (11), in which the embedded verb assigns an oblique case was only accepted by about one-third (i.e. 30.12%) of the informants.

As mentioned above, the structures (6)-(11) were also tested with a post-verbal *REM*. This is illustrated below in (12)-(17). In these examples *REM* is preceded by the indefinite article as bare nominal phrases are somewhat marked in post-verbal position (cf. section 2.4).

mLSF

I show these sentences without grammaticality diacritics. Their acceptance rates are discussed below.

(12) **AUTÓT** hallott hogy vettek **egy** **újat**.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that bought.3PL.indef a new.ACC
'(S)he heard that they had bought a new car.'

(13) **AUTÓT** hallott hogy örülnének **egy** **újnak**.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that would.be.pleased.3PL a new.DAT
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

(14) **AUTÓRA** számított hogy kapnak **egy** **újat**.
car.ONTO counted.3PL.indef that get.3PL.indef a new.ACC
'(S)he expected that they would get a new car.'

(15) **AUTÓRA** számított hogy dicsekedhet **egy** **újjal**.
car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that boast.can.3SG.indef a new.INSTR
'(S)he expected that (s)he could boast of a new car.'

eLSF

(16) **AUTÓT** hallotta hogy vettek **egy** **újat**.
car.ACC heard.3SG.def that bought.3PL.indef a new.ACC
'(S)he heard that they had bought a new car.'

(17) **AUTÓRA** hallotta hogy számítanak **egy** **újra**.
car.ONTO heard.3SG.def that count.3PL.indef a new.ONTO
'(S)he heard that they expect a new car.

Applying the general test of grammaticality from section 7.2.2 reveals that one of the constructions of the eLSF is ungrammatical with *REM* in post-verbal position: the eLSF with an oblique-assigning embedded verb (cf. (17)) was found unacceptable (i.e. modus=1, average=1.67) in this configuration. The question why this should be will be addressed in my analysis of LSF in Chapter 8.

The acceptance rates of these baseline configurations are shown in table 2.

	Example number	**Case of *CORE* – Case of *REM***	**% of informants accepting the structure** (≥3)
mLSF	(12)	ACC-ACC	61.45%
	(13)	ACC-OBL	53.01%
	(14)	OBL-ACC	79.52%
	(15)	OBL_1-OBL_2	66.27%
eLSF	(16)	ACC-ACC	30.11%
	(17)	OBL_1-OBL_1	n.a.

Table 2. Ratings of baseline LSF structures with a postverbal REM in questionnaire 1

As table 2 shows, in constructions with a post-verbal *REM* (just as with a pre-verbal one), the mLSF is more widely accepted than the eLSF. Interestingly, the acceptability rates of the 'matrix case' types of LSF decreased slightly with an accusative-assigning embedded verb and increased slightly with an oblique-assigning embedded verb. This might suggest that accusative arguments tend to occupy pre-verbal rather than post-verbal positions while oblique arguments tend to take post-verbal rather than preverbal positions in LSF. In other words, the results shown in table 2 point to the conclusion that oblique complement fronting in the embedded clause is a slightly marked strategy in LSF while accusative complement fronting in the embedded clause is not.

eLSF is not widely acceptable either with a pre-verbal or with a post-verbal *REM*. Although the results show that the acceptance rates clearly drop with an oblique-marked post-verbal *REM* in the eLSF, the same is true of the 'eLSF with an accusative-marked postverbal *REM*. This suggests that the reason why the eLSF is strongly degraded with a post-verbal *REM* is not related to the accusative-oblique case distinction.

As is clear from table 1 and table 2, the acceptability rates suggest speaker variation at least concerning the 'matrix case' and 'embedded case' distinction. Speaker variation will be discussed later in this chapter (cf. section 7.5). In the next section I discuss LSF in island configurations.

7.2.3.2 TESTING THE PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS: ISLAND EFFECTS

Recall the preliminary analysis from section 6.2 in Chapter 6, summarized in table 3. The base-generation derivations are marked with light grey shading and the long-distance movement derivations by dark grey shading.

			Grammaticality of the mLSF	Grammaticality of the eLSF
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

Table 3. My proposal concerning the derivation of the different types of LSF

As table 3 shows, I assume that all of the 'matrix case' types of LSF are derived without long-distance movement. The eLSF is divided into two derivational options: structures in which the embedded verb assigns accusative case are assumed to be derived by long-distance movement while structures containing an oblique-assigning embedded verb are assumed to be derived without it. Structures that are assigned a base-generation derivation should not show island sensitivity while structures that are assigned a long-distance movement derivation should. In what follows in this section I show to what extent this expectation was confirmed.

Questionnaire 1 contained three types of sentences testing movement effects: bi-clausal complex NP island configurations, tri-clausal complex NP island configurations and adjunct island configurations. Of the six baseline types of LSF four were tested in island configurations in order to keep the number of test sentences within reasonable limits. As the baseline mLSF contained 4 subtypes while the eLSF only two, I left aside two types of the mLSF, namely the two baseline structures containing an oblique-assigning matrix verb (cf. (8) and (9)). This leaves us with the following four types of LSF that were systematically tested for movement effects:

	Example number	**Case of *CORE* – Case of *REM***
mLSF	(6)	ACC-ACC
	(7)	ACC-OBL
eLSF	(10)	ACC-ACC
	(11)	OBL_1-OBL_1

Table 4. Types of LSF structures tested for movement effects in questionnaire 1

First I discuss bi-clausal complex NP configurations. The following five examples were tested in this configuration:[88]

I show the following sentences without marking their acceptability. Their acceptance rate is discussed below.

[88] Note that the OBL_1-OBL_1 pattern was tested via two sentences (cf. (21) and (22)) for reasons explained in the main text.

(18) **AUTÓT** hallott **olyan** **híreket** hogy **újat** vettek.
car.ACC heard.3SG.def such news.ACC that new.ACC bought.3PL.indef
'(S)he heard such news that they had bought a new car.'

(19) **AUTÓT** hallott **olyan** **híreket** hogy **újnak** örülne.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef such news.ACC that new.DAT would.be.happy.3SG
'(S)he heard such news that (s)he would be pleased with a new car.'

(20) **AUTÓT** hallotta **a** **hírt** hogy **újat** vettek.
car.ACC heard.3SG.def the news.ACC that new.ACC bought.3PL.indef
'(S)he heard the news that they had bought a new car.'

(21) **AUTÓRA** hallotta **a** **hírt** hogy **újra** számít.
car.ONTO heard.3SG.def the news.ACC that new.ONTO count.3SG.indef
'(S)he heard the news that (s)he expected a new car.'

(22) **AUTÓRA** hallott **olyan** **híreket** hogy **újra** számítanak.
car.ONTO heard.3SG.indef such news.ACC that new.ONTO count.3PL.indef
'*(S)he heard such news that they expected a new car.'*

As clear from the examples, the four subtypes of LSF shown in table 4 were tested in a complex NP island configuration. The NomP introducing the clausal complement (cf. the boldfaced NomP in the middle of the sentences in (18) – (22)) was adjusted to the form of the matrix verb (i.e. definite or indefinite) characteristic of the given type of LSF. This is because the matrix verb must agree with this NomP in object definiteness. In the 'embedded case' type of LSF in which *CORE* bears an oblique case, the matrix verb is in principle free to agree either with a definite or an indefinite NomP introducing the 'island' (cf. (21) and (22)) as in this type of LSF agreement with *CORE* is not a theoretical option.

In other words, I had to have the verb agree with the NomP and have the correct form for the type of LSF I tested. Table 5 summarizes the LSF patterns tested in complex NP island configurations in bi-clausal structures.

	Example number	**Case of *CORE* – Case of *REM***
mLSF	(18)	ACC-ACC
	(19)	ACC-OBL
eLSF	(20)	ACC-ACC
	(21), (22)	OBL_1-OBL_1

Table 5. Types of (bi-clausal) LSF structures tested for complex NP island effects in questionnaire 1

The first criterion for ungrammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2) filters out all the structures in which *CORE* bears accusative case, i.e. (18): average=1.72, modus=1, (19) average=1.71, modus=1 and (20) average=1.71, modus=1.[89]

As for the two examples with an oblique *CORE*, they pass this test (i.e. (21): average=2.37, modus=1, (22): average=2.57, modus=1). The second criterion for grammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2) shows that (21) was accepted by 40.5% of the informants and (22) by 49.5%.

[89] Note that there is a slight difference in the numbers shown here and in the numbers shown in Appendix 1. This is because the appendix shows the raw results calculated for all the 83 informants. However, recall from section 7.2.3.1 that 4 informants were excluded because they did not accept a single LSF construction of the six baseline types shown in (6)(6)-(11).

The reason why these structures are ungrammatical in the mLSF is straightforward in light of the preliminary analysis: the (accusative-assigning) matrix verb in (18) and (19) cannot assign accusative case twice. As the matrix verb must agree with the NomP introducing the complex NP island and must assign case to it, it cannot do the same with *CORE* and vice versa. The fact that the 'embedded case' variant of long object focusing (cf. (20)) is also ungrammatical in this configuration suggests that this structure is sensitive to islands. In other words, in the latter type of LSF the cause of ungrammaticality is that the complex NomP blocks the movement of the phrase to be long-focused out of the embedded clause.

Although the 'embedded case' variant of LSF with long oblique complement focusing (cf. (21) and (22)) was accepted by slightly less than 50% of the informants, the difference between the acceptability of this structure and that of the other 'embedded case' variant of LSF (i.e. with long object focusing, cf. (20)) is compatible with a derivational difference between the two as proposed in section 6.2. More specifically, I assume that the derivation of the OBL_1-OBL_1 type does not involve long-distance movement since it received better judgments than the ACC-ACC type of eLSF.

Next I turn to the discussion of LSF in tri-clausal complex NP island configurations. Although such constructions are very hard to process, especially because LSF structures are marked already in their baseline form, I included some tri-clausal compex NP island structures because the bi-clausal structures were ruled out for independent reasons in the matrix case types of LSF (cf. the problem of accusative case assignment discussed below table 4). The four subtypes of LSF shown in table 4 were tested by six example sentences each. In addition to this, for mLSF not only the ACC-OBL pattern but also the ACC-NOM pattern (cf. (23)) was included.

(23) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **új** áll a garázsában.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.Poss.3SG.IN
'He's said that there is a new CAR standing in his garage.'

In total, 30 tri-clausal complex NP island structures were constructed. The examples within each subtype of LSF differed with respect to the case (nominative, accusative, oblique) and the definiteness of the NomP introducing the complement clause that constitutes the island. Here I show one example for each subtype of LSF. For the rest of the test sentences I refer the reader to the relevant questionnaire sections (i.e. 7.1-7.4) in Appendix 1.

(24) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallotta **a** **hírt**
car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC**
hogy **újat** vettek.
that new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef
'He's said that he heard the news that they had bought a new car.'

(25) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **azt** **a** **hírt** hallotta hogy **pirosnak**
car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem.**ACC** the news.**ACC** heard.3SG.def that red.**DAT**
örülnének.
would.be.pleased.3PL.indef
'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that they would be happy about a red car.'

(26) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallotta **a** **hírt** hogy
car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC** that
új áll a garázsban
new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN
'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that there had been a new car standing in the garage.'

(27) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy hallotta **a** **hírt** hogy
car.**ACC** said.3SG.def that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC** that
újat vettek.
new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef
'He's said that he heard the news that they had bought a new car.'

(28) **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **azt** **a** **hírt** hallotta
car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that Dem.**ACC** the news.**ACC** heard.3SG.def
hogy **újra** számítanak
that new.**ONTO** count.3PL.indef
'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that they expected a new car.'

The first criterion for grammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2) did not filter out any of the 30 test sentences.[90] This means the average of all the sentences testing the same type of LSF structure was considered for the second criterion for grammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2). These results are shown in table 6.

	Example number	**Case of *CORE*-Case of *REM***	**% of speakers accepting the structure (average ≥3)**
mLSF	(24)	ACC-ACC	51.89%
	(25), (26)	ACC-OBL/NOM	43.03%
eLSF	(27)	ACC-ACC	35.44%
	(28)	OBL_1-OBL_1	51.89%

Table 6. Judgment patterns in tri-clausal complex NP island configurations

As the table shows, the majority of speakers accepted the test sentences in the 'matrix case' variant with long object focusing (cf. structures like (24)) and the eLSF with long oblique complement focusing (cf. structures like (28)). The mLSF with case mismatch (cf. structures like (25) and (26)) was slightly less widely accepted and the eLSF with long object focusing received a poor acceptance rate (cf. structures like (27)).

Recall from section 7.2.3.1 that oblique complement fronting had a degrading effect in the baseline LSF structures, which could explain the relatively limited acceptance rate of structures containing an oblique complement in the embedded clause.[91] Note also that these test sentences are very hard to process as an extra clause had to be inserted for independent reasons in structures that were already marked. I attribute the general markedness of tri-clausal complex NP island configuration to the difficulty of processing such sentences.

Taking the above factors into consideration, I conclude that the difference between the acceptance rate of structures like (24), (25), (26), (28) and the acceptance rate of structures like (27) suggests a distinction in the derivation of these structures as outlined in section 6.2. More specifically, I assume that the reason why (27) was found to be less acceptable than (24), (25), (26), (28) is that eLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern is sensitive to the complex NP island while the other three types of LSF are not.

[90] The averages of the test sentences shown in questionnaire sections 7.1-7.4 in Appendix 1 are the following in the order of presentation in the questionnaire: 2.16, 2.5, 2.49, 2.63, 2.35, 2.6; 2.69, 2.84, 2.77, 2.87, 2.84, 2.72; 2.7, 2.82, 2.8, 2.69, 2.87, 2.66, 2.4, 2.55, 2.79, 2.67, 2.74, 2.74; 2.67, 2.48, 2.81, 2.77, 2.89, 2.93.

[91] I do not have an explanation for the fact that (28), which also contains an oblique NomP in the embedded clause is less degraded than (25).

Finally, I present the results related to adjunct island configurations. The four types of LSF shown in table 4 were tested by four test sentences in this configuration (cf. (29)-(32)), each of which was presented in context (cf. questionnaire section 5 in Appendix 1).

(29) **LEPKÉT** mondott hogy már vége lett a
butterfly.ACC said.3SG.indef that already end became.3SG the
versenynek mikor **zöldet** találtak.
competition.DAT when green.ACC found.3PL.indef
'He said that by the time they found a green butterfly, the competition had ended.'

(30) **SÚLYT** mondott hogy már vége lett a
weight.ACC said.3SG.indef that already end became.3SG the
versenynek mikor **jóra** emlékezett.
competition.DAT when correct.ONTO remembered.3SG.indef
'He said that by the time he remembered the correct weight the competition had ended.'

(31) **LEPKÉT** mondta hogy már vége lett a
butterfly.ACC said.3SG.def that already end became.3SG the
versenynek mikor **zöldet** találtak.
competition.DAT when green.ACC found.3PL.indef
'He said that by the time they found a green butterfly, the competition had ended.'

(32) **SÚLYRA** mondta hogy már vége lett a
weight.ONTO said.3SG.def that already end became.3SG the
versenynek mikor **jóra** emlékezett.
competition.DAT when correct.ONTO remembered.3SG.indef
'He said that by the time he remembered the correct weight the competition had ended.'

Of the above four test sentences one, i.e. eLSF with the ACC-ACC case pattern (cf. (31)) did not meet the general criterion for grammaticality formulated in section 7.2.2 (cf. average=1.76, modus=1).

The results of the application of the second criterion for grammaticality (cf. section 7.2.2) are summarized in table 7.

	Example number	**Case of *CORE*-Case of *REM***	**% of speakers accepting the structure (≥3)**
mLSF	(29)	ACC-ACC	82.27%
	(30)	ACC-OBL	53.16%
eLSF	(31)	ACC-ACC	n.a.
	(32)	OBL_1-OBL_1	49.36%

Table 7. Judgment patterns in adjunct island configurations

The table shows that both types of the mLSF were rated acceptable by the majority of speakers, although the one with the ACC-ACC pattern was rated better than the one with the ACC-OBL pattern. In light of the oblique fronting patterns (i.e. acceptability rates with preverbal/postverbal *REM*) in the baseline LSF structures shown in section 7.2.3.1, I assume that the reason why the ACC-OBL pattern in the mLSF (cf. (30)) and the OBL_1-OBL_1 pattern in the eLSF (cf. (32)) are less widely acceptable (in this configuration as well as in their baseline form) is the degrading effect of oblique complement fronting. In other words, I assume that eLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern was ruled out because this structure is sensitive to the adjunct island. On the other hand, the rest of the LSF constructions are not sensitive to the adjunct island, even though mLSF with the ACC-OBL pattern and eLSF with the OBL_1-OBL_1 pattern received worse acceptance rates

than mLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern. I claim that this difference is due to the degrading effect of oblique fronting, as pointed out above.

I conclude that based on the results of the adjunct island configurations both types of mLSF and the OBL_1-OBL_1 pattern of eLSF are compatible with a base-generation derivation as they do not show island effects. On the other hand, the ACC-ACC pattern of eLSF can be associated with a long-distance movement derivation because this construction was found to be sensitive to the adjunct island.

To sum up, I take the difference between the acceptability rate of eLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern and those of the other three structures (both in tri-clausal complex NP island configurations and in adjunct island configurations) to be an indication that the preliminary analysis shown in section 6.2 is on the right track. In the next section I provide further evidence for this claim.

7.3 ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS: QUESTIONNAIRE 2[92]

7.3.1 METHODOLOGY AND SHORTENED DESCRIPTION

Questionnaire 2 was filled out by 88 informants at the College of Nyíregyháza on 20-22 December 2011. As mentioned in section 7.1, it made use of the magnitude estimation method. In this section I give a short description of this method and briefly introduce the aspects of the questionnaire relevant for my purposes in this chapter. A detailed description of its methodology and design together with the full list of the test sentences can be found in Appendix 2.

Magnitude estimation testing, a technique originally invented in psychophysics (cf. Stevens 1975), has recently been introduced into linguistics (cf. Sorace 1992, Bard et al. 1996, Cowart 1997, Sorace and Keller 2005) because of its potentials to capture fine-grained differences between graded judgments in a reliable way. I chose this method for questionnaire 2 because even the baseline construction I analyze in this dissertation (i.e. long focus constructions) does not have an unequivocal 'grammatical' status. By using magnitude estimation, the problem of balancing the cut-off point of grammaticality between 'good' and 'bad' structures can be avoided. Moreover, the data are suitable for a number of statistical analyses that cannot be carried out in a tried-and-true way on data obtained via the five-point scale method. This way the statistical significance between different judgments can be measured and compared, leading to a relative positioning of different structures on a continuum of acceptability.

One goal of questionnaire 2 relevant for this chapter was to find out whether the empirical evidence for the preliminary analysis shown in the previous section can be confirmed with a different method.[93]

Generally speaking, questionnaire 2 tested less types of LSF in less syntactic configurations but with a larger number of test sentences for each. More specifically, two types of LSF were tested (i.e. the 'matrix case' type with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf. (34)) and the 'embedded case' type with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf. (35)) in baseline form (cf. (34) and (35)) and in adjunct island configurations (cf. (35) and (36)). The questionnaire contained four test sentences for each of the four construction types (i.e. (33)-(36)) and each test sentence was presented in context (cf. Appendix 2).

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[92] I would like to thank Jutta Hartmann for carrying out the statistical analyses the results of which are presented in this chapter.

[93] In addition to LSF, LUF structures were also included but this will only be relevant in section 7.5.

(33) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(34) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**def** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(35) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when
újat vett.
new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'

(36) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor
car.ACC said.3SG.**def** that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when
újat vett.
new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'

Another difference between questionnaire 1 and questionnaire 2 was that the former used a small number of bridge verbs, unevenly distributed (i.e. in most of the sentences *mond* 'say' was the matrix verb) as it was not among the factors to be tested. Questionnaire 2, on the other hand, used eight bridge verbs (cf. (37)) evenly distributed over the test sentences.

(37)

állít – 'claim'

gondol – 'think'

hall – 'hear'

hisz – 'believe'

ígér – 'promise'

mesél – 'tell'

mond – 'say'

remél – 'hope'

The relevance of this decision will be discussed in section 7.5.

In magnitude estimation experiments informants are asked to estimate the perceived grammaticality of a sentence on an interval scale, typically in numbers proportional to the value they assigned to a modulus item (i.e. to the reference sentence). That is, subjects first give an arbitrary number to a modulus item and express the perceived grammaticality of each test sentence compared to that reference sentence. The reference sentence is a structure that is not perfectly grammatical or wildly ungrammatical but contains a minor violation. In my experiment I used the following reference sentence:

(38) A tanár mindenkit át-engedett szerencsére a vizsgán.[94]
the teacher everyone.ACC VM.let.Past.3SG luckily the exam.ON
'The teacher luckily let everybody pass the exam.'

If, for example, an informant assigns the number '10' to the reference sentence, then the value of a test sentence that he/she judges to be twice as grammatical as the reference sentence is 20. Informants were asked to compare the acceptability of test sentences to the acceptability of the reference sentence which they were allowed to rate with any arbitrary number. As a result, the scores obtained from different informants could not be compared directly. The raw scores had to be normalized first to be able to compare the results. The normalized, comparable scores are referred to as 'z-scores'. The exact formula for the normalization of the scores is shown in Appendix 2.
In the next section I present the results of questionnaire 2 concerning LSF.

7.3.2 RESULTS

In this section I present the relevant results of questionnaire 2. Recall from the previous section that the question to be answered is whether mLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf.(39)) and eLSF with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf. (40)) show island effects.

(39) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(40) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**def** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

I will not go into the details of the calculation of z-scores (cf. section 7.3.1) in this section but I would like to point out that a negative score means that a given sentence/structure scored lower than the average based on the full list of test sentences, including fillers. Importantly, '0' is not a cut-off point of grammaticality. Rather, there is no cut-off point of grammaticality, only a continuum of acceptability.

Table 8 shows the ratings summary for the four construction types tested in questionnaire 2.

Construction type	Mean rating (z-score)
mLSF – baseline	-0,25
eLSF – baseline	-0,19
mLSF – adjunct island	-0,31
eLSF – adjunct island	-0,45

Table 8. Mean ratings of the 4 LSF construction types in Q2

The table shows that the baseline configurations of both mLSF and eLSF scored better than the adjunct island configurations. Interestingly, compared to the results of questionnaire 1 (cf. section 7.2.3.1), the baseline mLSF scored lower than the baseline eLSF. I will return to this issue in section 7.5.

[94] 'Sentence adverbials, which are generated outside the predicate phrase and are ungrammatical in the operator domain of the predicate, can also occur – somewhat markedly – inside the VP.' (É. Kiss 2002: 121). In other words, the VP-internal position of the sentence adverbial *szerencsére* 'luckily' creates a minor violation in (38).

The results are also shown in figure 1 below.

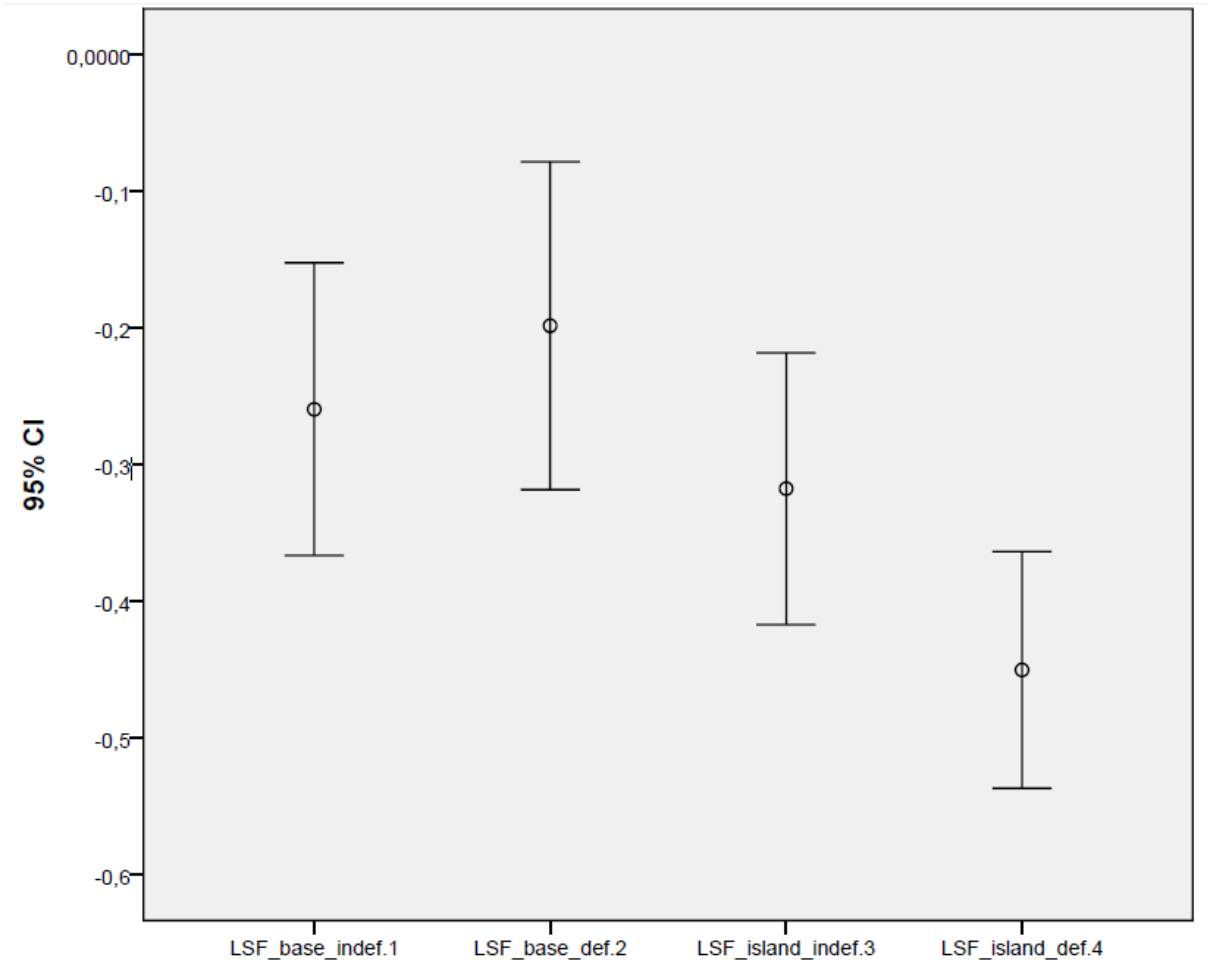


Figure 1. Judgment pattern of LSF based on the four construction types in questionnaire 2

In figure 1 the first vertical line shows the rating interval for the baseline mLSF structure, the second one for the baseline eLSF structure, the third one for mLSF in adjunct island configuration and the fourth one for eLSF in adjunct island configuration. The numbers on the left show the normalized scores (i.e. z-scores) for the given construction type. The circle in the middle of each vertical line shows the average rating of each construction (cf. table 8).

As visible from the figure, the ratings of the baseline and the adjunct island mLSF structures are very similar, although the island configuration structures scored lower. The difference between the ratings of the baseline eLSF and its adjunct island counterpart is quite pronounced compared to the difference between the two mLSF construction types. The statistical analysis of the data confirm the pattern visible in the figure: the difference between the ratings of the baseline mLSF and of its adjunct island counterpart is not significant by subjects ($t1\ (1, 67) = 0.67, p=0.51$) and it is not significant by items ($t2\ (1, 15) = 1.04\ \ p = .32$). On the other hand, the difference between the ratings of the baseline eLSF structure and of the adjunct island eLSF structure turned out to be significant both by subjects ($t1(1, 67) = 3.08\ p < 0.005$) and by items ($t2(1, 15) = 3.79\ \ p < 0.005$).

These results support my proposal that object focus fronting from an object clause, which comes in two types (cf. Chapter 4), is derived by base-generation in its 'matrix case' variant and by long-distance movement in its 'embedded case' variant.[95]

7.4 CONCLUSION

To conclude, the results of both questionnaires support the preliminary analysis of the LSF structures that they tested. Questionnaire 1 included island configurations for the 'matrix case' ACC-ACC and ACC-OBL patterns and for the 'embedded case' ACC-ACC and OBL_1-OBL_1 patterns of LSF. Questionnaire 2 tested the 'matrix case' ACC-ACC and the 'embedded case' ACC-ACC patterns of LSF for movement effects. The rest of the LSF constructions introduced in Chapter 4 were not tested in island configurations.

7.5 APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 7: SPEAKER VARIATION

7.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Although several works mention speaker variation concerning LUF (cf. e.g. É. Kiss 1987, Marácz 1989, Kenesei 1994, Lipták 1998), Gervain (2002, 2009, Gervain & Zemplén 2005) is the first to take speaker variation into account when analyzing LUF. Based on the results of several statistically processed questionnaires primarily involving informants from the South of Hungary, she arrives at the conclusion that LUF displays systematic interspeaker variation corresponding to two distinct derivational strategies; one involving a base-generated subject NomP in the matrix clause and one involving the long-distance movement of the embedded subject NomP into the matrix clause (cf. sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.1).

As I assume an identity of derivation in LSF and LUF, (cf. section 4.7), I expect that speaker variation should manifest itself in LSF, too, possibly in the same way as in the derivational strategies of LUF.

In section 7.5.2 I describe the main aspects of speaker variation as found in Gervain (2009). I also review Den Dikken's (2010) claims about speaker variation concerning LUF. Then I compare those to my results based on questionnaire 1 in section 7.5.3.1 and on questionnaire 2 in section 7.5.3.2. In section 7.5.4 I conclude that based on my experiments carried out in the North-East of Hungary systematic speaker variation concerning LSF and LUF cannot be confirmed.

7.5.2 SPEAKER VARIATION AS OBSERVED IN PREVIOUS LITERATURE ON LUF

Gervain (2009) links matrix/embedded case assignment of a long-focused subject with the absence/presence of number mismatch between the long-focused subject and the embedded verb. The classification of her data is based on the following types of sentences:

[95] The results concerning LUF were less clear. As expected based on the identical characteristics of LSF and LUF, there was no significant difference between the ratings of the mLUF in baseline and adjunct island configurations either by subjects ($t1(1,67) = 1.03$ $p = 0.30$) or by items ($t2 (1, 15) = 1.24$; $p = 0.24$). This suggests that there is no long-distance movement involved in the derivation of this type of mLUF. This is in line with my analysis of the corresponding LSF structures. However, the difference between the ratings of the baseline eLUF constructions and the corresponding adjunct island configurations did not turn out to be significant enough to suggest a long-distance movement derivation of this type of LUF. The difference between the ratings of the above mentioned two configurations is not significant by subjects ($t1(1,67)= 1.12$ $p=0.26$) and it is only marginally significant by items ($t2(1, 15) = 1.92$ $p = .073$). I leave the investigation of this issue for further research.

(41) **AZ ÖSSZES LÁNYT** mondtad hogy e_{NOM} jön.
the all girl.**ACC** said.2SG.def. that come.3SG
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

(42) % **AZ ÖSSZES LÁNYT** mondtad hogy e_{NOM} jönnek.[96]
the all girl.**ACC** said.2SG.def. that come.3PL
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

(43) % **AZ ÖSSZES LÁNY** mondtad hogy e_{NOM} jön.
the all girl.**NOM** said.2SG.def. that come.3SG
'You said that all the girls were coming.'

(44) * **AZ ÖSSZES LÁNY** mondtad hogy e_{NOM} jönnek.
the all girl.**NOM** said.2SG.def. that come.3PL
INTENDED: *'You said that all the girls were coming.'*

As is clear from the LUF examples above, the long-focused phrase is a quantified NomP. In Hungarian quantified NomPs are grammatically singular (i.e. they do not bear the plural suffix '-k') even though they semantically denote a plurality cf. (45)).

(45) három/ minden/ sok/ az összes/ hány lány-ø/(*-ok)
three every many the all how.many girlSG/PL
'three/every/many/all the/ how many girls'

If such a NomP occurs as subject, it is its morphological form that triggers agreement with the verb of its clause in simple clauses (i.e. it triggers singular agreement). In (46) the NomP is a grammatically singular (though semantically plural) subject and it triggers singular agreement on the verb. Note that plural agreement results in clear ungrammaticality.

(46) Két/ minden/ az összes lány vásárol(*nak).
two/ each/ the all girl.SG shopping.do.3SG/*3PL
'Two/each/all of the girls are doing shopping.'

However, as Gervain (2002, 2009) observes, number mismatch becomes available when such a NomP subject surfaces in a different clause than the one it thematically belongs to. Consider the option of number mismatch in (41) and (42). In (41) the embedded verb agrees with the long-focused subject in grammatical number (i.e. singular) while in (42) it agrees with the semantic number of the subject (i.e. plural). Note that the long-focused subject undergoes a case switch from nominative to accusative both in (41) and (42). Crucially, the option of number mismatch is unavailable if the long-focused subject bears embedded (i.e. nominative) case (cf. (43) and (44)).

As Gervain (2009) notes, LUF is a non-standard construction in general and a small percentage of speakers rejects all types of LUF. Still, (41), with matrix case marking and grammatical agreement between the long-focused subject and the embedded verb can be considered a generally acceptable structure. The other extreme on the acceptability scale is (44): embedded case assignment combined with number mismatch is generally unacceptable. Gervain (2009) reports that (42) and (43) received various ratings by various speakers: in (42) matrix case assignment goes together with number mismatch and in (43) embedded case assignment goes together with grammatical number agreement. Before showing the distribution of judgements concerning the four sentences above, I summarize Gervain's grouping of the pattern shown in (41)-(44) in table 9.

[96] The precentage mark indicates restricted acceptance rate as found in Gervain (2009).

	Example number	Number agreement between the long-focused quantified subject and the embedded verb
1: LUF without number mismatch		Grammatical agreement (SG-SG)
	(41)	**a: Case mismatch** between the case of the long-focused subject and the case of the subject in situ
	(43)	**b: Case match** between the case of the long-focused subject and the case of the subject in situ
2: LUF with number mismatch	(42)	Notional agreement (SG-PL)
		(Obligatory) **case mismatch** between the case of the long-focused subject and the case of the subject in situ

Table 9. Gervain's (2009) classification of LUF with long-focused subjects

Gervain (2009) shows an interesting correlation between the judgements given on each of the three types of LUF shown in table 9: those speakers who accept *LUF type 1.b.* (i.e. LUF without number mismatch and with 'case match') do not accept *LUF type 2* (i.e. LUF with number mismatch and case mismatch). These speakers are referred to as dialect 1. On the other hand, those speakers who do not accept *LUF type 1.b.* (i.e. LUF without number mismatch and with 'case match') do accept *LUF type 2* (i.e. LUF with number mismatch and case mismatch). These speakers are referred to as dialect 2. Both dialects find *LUF type 1. a.* (i.e. LUF without number mismatch and with case mismatch) acceptable. This pattern is summarized in table 10.

	LUF type 1. a.	LUF type 1. b.	LUF type 2
Dialect 1	✓	✓	×
Dialect 2		×	✓

Table 10. The judgement pattern of the two dialects on LUF found in Gervain (2009), cf. Gervain (2009: 692)

Gervain (2009) reports that she has not found any informant with a different judgment pattern than that of dialect 1 or dialect 2 shown in table 10.

Crucially, Gervain assumes two different derivations for the same surface structure (i.e. *LUF type 1.a.* (cf. section 5.2.2). Her analyses are linked to the surface types of LUF and to the dialectal patterns in the way summarized in table 11.

	LUF type 1. a.	LUF type 1. b.	LUF type 2.	ANALYSIS
Dialect 1	✓	✓	×	Long-distance movement
Dialect 2		×	✓	Resumptive dependency

Table 11. Gervain's (2009) analyses linked to the surface types of LUF and to the dialectal patterns

Table 11 shows that dialect 1 can derive LUF type 1. a. and LUF type 1. b. with the long-distance movement strategy and it cannot derive LUF type 2 at all. On the other hand, dialect 2 can derive LUF type 1. a. and LUF type 2. by applying the resumptive dependency strategy but it cannot derive LUF type 1. b. in any way. In other words, speakers of the same dialect have access only to the one or to the other derivational strategy but not to both in this account.

Similarly to Gervain, I also assume a base-generation and a movement derivation for LSF (even though my proposal does not involve two possible derivations for the same surface structure, cf. section 6.2). Therefore, I tried to find out whether the same speaker groups can be identified for LSF, as well.

Another type of variation is described in Den Dikken (2010). He claims that in argument fonting eLUF is marginal compared to mLUF.[97]

In the next two sections I discuss the results of my two questionnaires from the point of view of speaker variation.

7.5.3 SPEAKER VARIATION CONCERNING LSF AND LUF

7.5.3.1 RESULTS FROM QUESTIONNAIRE 1

My intention was to see if I can find the same speaker groups as Gervain (2009) in my data. I first describe the criteria based on which I differentiated between two speaker groups in questionnaire 1. For this I used the judgments given to the six baseline LSF structures that were tested in questionnaire 1 (cf. section 7.2.3.1). One speaker group included those who gave an average rating of ≥3 to the four 'matrix case' types of LSF, another speaker group included those who gave an average rating of ≥3 to the two 'embedded case' types of LSF and yet another included those who accepted both structures (i.e. average rating ≥3 for the 'matrix case' and for the 'embedded case' types, respectively).

Based on the above criteria 31 speakers accepted only the mLSF, 19 speakers accepted both the 'matrix case' and the eLSF and 5 speakers accepted only the eLSF. This means that out of my 83 informants 55 accepted either mLSF or eLSF or both, and 28 accepted neither of the two types.

I called those speakers that only accepted the mLSF *dialect A* and those that accepted both the mLSF and the eLSF *dialect B*. As I was primarily interested in the *possibility* of systematic speaker variation, I did not take the five speakers accepting only the 'embedded case' type of LSF into account and only concentrated on the judgment patterns of the two large groups. My expectation was that these two 'dialects' would score consistently as a group in the rest of the questionnaire.

However, the judgment patterns of the two 'dialects' turned out to be largely the same. Table 12 shows what percent of each of the two dialects accepted the given LSF structure in the adjunct island configuration (i.e. gave a score that is ≥3, cf. section 7.2.2).

	Case of *CORE*-case of *REM*	**% of speakers accepting the structure (≥3)**	
		Dialect 1	**Dialect 2**
mLSF	ACC-ACC	84,21%	96,77%
	ACC-OBL	57,89%	54,83%
eLSF	ACC-ACC	10,52%	19,35%
	OBL_1-OBL_1	57,89%	61,29%

Table 12. Judgment patterns of the two dialects in adjunct island configurations in questionnaire 1

Table 13 shows the percentages of the two dialects that accepted the different types of LSF in triclausal complex NP island configurations.

[97] Den Dikken (2010) also contrasts the markedness of argument fronting in eLUF with the unmarkedness of predicative NP fronting and measure phrase fronting in the same type of LUF. This contrast, however, is not relevant for the data discussed in this dissertation.

	Case of *CORE*-case of *REM*	**% of speakers accepting the structure (average ≥3)**	
		Dialect 1	**Dialect 2**
mLSF	ACC-ACC	42,10%	61,29%
	ACC-OBL	42,10%	48,38%
eLSF	ACC-ACC	36,84%	38,70%
	OBL_1-OBL_1	63,15%	54,83%

Table 13. Judgment patterns of the two dialects in tri-clausal complex NP island configurations

As is clear from the above two tables, there were no systematic differences between the judgments given by the two dialects to LSF constructions acceptable in island configurations. This suggests that these two groups do not differ in their derivational strategy.

Moreover, Gervain's four central LUF constructions (i.e. (41)-(44)) were also tested in questionnaire 1 (cf. Appendix 1). The similarity between the percentages of speakers accepting the different LUF structures in both 'dialects' (cf. table 14) does not suggest that the two 'dialects' apply different derivational strategies in LUF, either.

	Example number	**Type of LUF**	**% of speakers accepting the structure (average ≥3)**	
			Dialect 1	**Dialect 2**
mLUF	(41)	**ACC_{Sg}-NOM_{Sg}**	73,68%	83,87%
	(42)	**ACC_{Sg}-NOM_{Pl}**	63,16%	83,87%
eLUF	(43)	**NOM_{Sg}-NOM_{Sg}**	47,36%	48,38%
	(44)	**NOM_{Sg}-NOM_{Pl}**	15,78%	38,70%

Table 14. Judgment patterns of the two dialects about LUF structures (Gervain's (2009) examples)

Table 14 also shows that the two 'matrix case' types of LUF (i.e. without and with number mismatch) were both rated acceptable by the vast majority of both 'dialects'.

The kind of variation Den Dikken (2010) mentions (cf. section 7.5.2) is, however, discernible in the judgment patterns shown above: in the baseline configurations the 'matrix case' types are more widely accepted than the 'embedded case' types both in LSF (cf. the second paragraph of this section) and in LUF (cf. table 15) in long argument (cf. subject and object) focusing. To sum up, the results of questionnaire 1 support the kind of variation mentioned in Den Dikken (2010). The results also suggest that in this respect LSF and LUF show the same type of variation. One thing remains to be explained, though: this kind of variation between baseline 'matrix case' and eLSF cannot be found when it comes to island configurations (cf. tables 13 and 14). This will be discussed in the next section.

Questionnaire 2 was especially suitable to test this pattern of variation as the degree of acceptability of one structure is measured in relation to the degree of acceptability of another with the magnitude estimation method. As a result, it could provide information about the degree of acceptability of 'embedded case' structures compared to 'matrix case' structures. In the next section I discuss the relevant results of questionnaire 2.

7.5.3.2 RESULTS FROM QUESTIONNAIRE 2

As mentioned in section 7.1, questionnaire 2 used eight bridge verbs evenly distributed over the LSF and LUF test sentences. As was also pointed out in section 7.3.1, questionnaire 2 only tested the 'matrix case' ACC-ACC and the 'embedded case' ACC-ACC type of LSF. In other words,

only those LSF and LUF types were included in which long object focusing takes place from an object clause.
Table 15 shows the average scores for mLSF and for eLSF.

Construction type	Mean rating (z-score)
mLSF – baseline	-0,25
eLSF – baseline	-0,19

Table 15. Mean ratings of the 2 baseline LSF construction types in questionnaire 2

The results show that eLSF received slightly better scores than mLSF. This difference, however, is not significant either by subjects or by items (t1(1,67)= -1.077 p = .286; t2 (1,15) = 1.328; p= .204). These results suggest a lack of speaker variation concerning even the baseline mLSF and eLSF structures: speakers find them equally acceptable. Recall from the previous section that it was the scores given to baseline LSF structures that I used to differentiate between potential speaker groups in questionnaire 1. The reason why these groups did not show any consistent differences in their judgments are clear in light of the results of questionnaire 2.

When investigating LUF constructions (cf. table 16), we find the same judgment pattern as in LSF above: the 'embedded case' type received better scores than the 'matrix case' type but the difference is not significant either by subjects or by items (t1(1,67)= -1.077 p = .286; t2 (1,15) = 1.328; p= .204).

Construction type	Mean rating (z-score)
mLUF – baseline	-0,22
eLUF – baseline	-0,18

Table 16. Mean ratings of the 2 baseline LUF construction types in questionnaire 2

Based on the results of questionnaire 2 I assume that the bridge verb also plays a role in the preference of speakers for the 'matrix case' or the 'embedded case' structure when in principle both constructions are acceptable (cf. section 4.5.2.1). This question was not further investigated.

7.5.4 CONCLUSION

In this Appendix I discussed speaker variation concerning LSF and LUF.
The generative literature on Hungarian contains accounts of LUF that posit there to be systematic speaker variation (with a concommitant difference in analysis). In this section I compared the speaker variation attested in connection with LUF in previous works (i.e. Gervain 2009, Den Dikken 2010) to the results of my two questionnaires to see whether a similar split can be found in my LSF- and LUF-data. Based on the results of questionnaire 1 and 2 I conclude that no different dialects can be discerned in LSF and LUF.

8 ANALYSIS OF LSF

8.1 INTRODUCTION

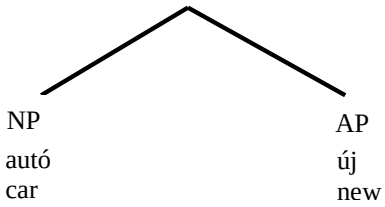
In this chapter I present an account for the empirical facts about LSF discussed so far in this thesis. In section 8.2 I analyze the structure of the split ANP which I adopt from Ott (2011) and from Jánosi, Van Craenenbroeck, and Vanden Wyngaerd (2013). In section 8.3 I account for the resumptive insertion and number mismatch data introduced in sections 4.4 and 4.5. After that I explain the details of the derivations proposed in Chapter 6. In section 8.4 I outline the movement analysis of LSF and in section 8.5, based on Den Dikken (2010) I introduce the base-generation derivation (i.e. concord). Finally, section 8.6 summarizes the main conclusions of the chapter.

8.2 THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANP

In Chapter 3 I described the syntactic characteristics of split ANPs in general and of split ANP constructions in particular. I showed that case-marking on the adjective does not occur in unsplit ANPs but is obligatory in split ANPs. I also provided empirical evidence suggesting that *CORE* and *REM* occupy one and the same syntactic position when they are unsplit but two different syntactic positions when they are split. Based on the above mentioned two differences between unsplit and split ANPs I concluded that *CORE* and *REM* form one phrase in unsplit ANPs while *CORE* and *REM* are separate phrasal categories in split ANPs, irrespectively of the construction in which they occur. In accordance with this, I assume a single syntactic structure of the split ANP in all split ANP constructions shown in Chapter 3 (i.e. short and long split topicalization and split focalization) and, consequently, in all types of LSF shown in Chapter 4.

I adopt Ott's (2011) analysis of German split DP topics (cf. Jánosi, Van Craenenbroeck, and Vanden Wyngaerd 2013). Ott assumes that the two subparts of a split DP in German are initially merged as one complex phrase. More specifically, the phrase to be split is a symmetric predication structure, which cannot be labelled before one of the two subparts has moved out of the structure. As follows from this, it is the local instability of the complex phrase that drives the movement of one of the phrases out of the complex phrase. Based on this I propose the following simplified structure for the ANP to be split up (cf. (1)).[98]

(1)



As the structure in (1) shows, I take *CORE* to be an NP and *REM* to be an AP. *CORE* and *REM* are sisters under an unlabelled category. They are in a predication relation with one another (cf. 'The car is new.').

[98] This structure will be refined in section 8.3.

This analysis accounts for both main characteristics of Hungarian split ANPs. The reason why both the NP and the AP need to be case-marked is that in predication relations typically both the subject and the predicate are case-marked (cf. Moravcsik 1988, Heringa 2012). This analysis also explains why we do not find split ANPs in Hungarian in which *CORE* and *REM* occupy the same syntactic position: one of the phrases obligatorily moves out of the structure in (1).

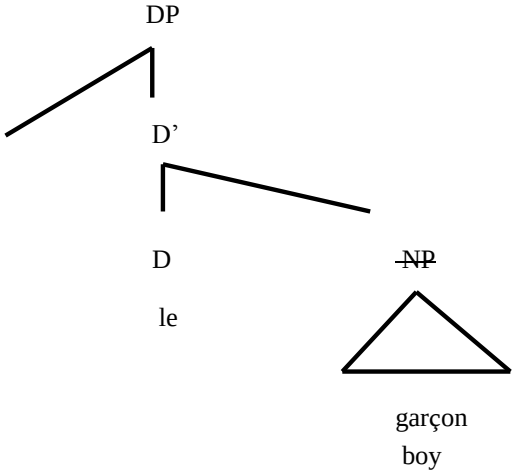
In the next section I refine the structure in (1) in order to account for resumptive insertion and number mismatch in LSF structures.

8.3 ACCOUNT OF RESUMPTIVE INSERTION AND NUMBER MISMATCH IN LSF

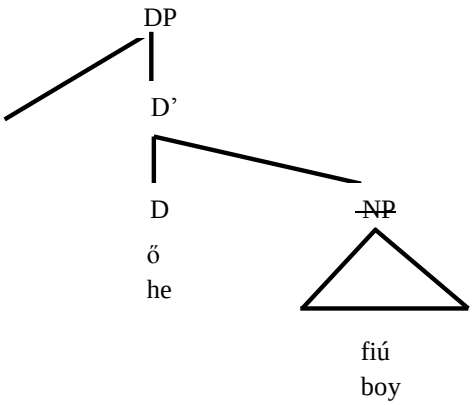
In this section I argue that the resumptive pronoun that may occur in a number of LSF constructions (cf. section 4.5.4) is the result of NP ellipsis and that number mismatch (cf. section 4.4) follows from the properties of this pronoun.

I assume, based on Postal (1969) and Baltin & Van Craenenbroeck (2008), that all pronouns are the result of ellipsis. Postal (1969) analyzes pronouns as articles as shown in (2), which illustrates a French example and in (3), which shows a Hungarian example.

(2)

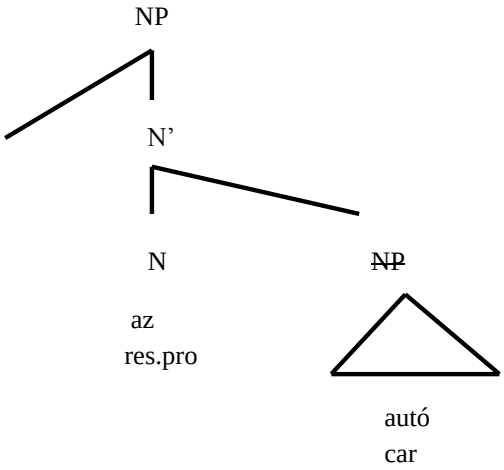


(3)



The structures in (2) and (3) show that the NP garcon (in (2)) and *fiú* (in (3)) 'boy' are complements of a D head. After NP ellipsis has taken place (cf. marked by the strikethrough of the NP in the tree representations), the pronouns *le* (in (2)) and *ő* 'he' (in (3)) surface in the D head position. I adopt the structures in (2) and (3) with the difference that the category dominating the NP is not a DP but another NP as shown below:

(4)



An example of EA containing a split ANP in the embedded clause is shown in (5). Note that the ellipsis of *autó* 'car' has not taken place in the embedded clause. Example (6) shows the corresponding mLSF example after the ellipsis of *autó* 'car' in the embedded clause (cf. the *azt*-pronoun stands for *autót* 'car' after ellipsis).[99] As pointed out in Chapter 4, the resumptive pronoun is optional in the embedded clause as Hungarian is a pro-drop language (cf. 2.5.2).

(5) AZT mondta hogy **autót** tegnap **újat** vett.
expl.ACC said.3SG that car.ACC yesterday new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he had bought a new car yesterday.'

(6) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy (**azt**) **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he had bought a new CAR yesterday.'

The claim that the phrase embedding the NP *autó* 'car' is an NP as in (4) is motivated by the fact that the *az*-pronoun (formally a demonstrative, i.e. definite) that can be inserted in the embedded clause in a number of LSF constructions, shows an exceptional syntactic characteristic: despite it being (formally) definite, it does not trigger object definiteness agreement (cf. (7)).

(7) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **(azt)** **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC bought.3SG.**indef**
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

In other words, unlike the expletive in EA, which is also a demonstrative in form (cf. section 4.2.3), the demonstrative that may occur in the embedded clause of certain LSF constructions is only grammatical when used with the indefinite form of the verb of its clause (cf. (7)). Demonstratives with an NP antecedent trigger the indefinite agreement form of their verb in contexts outside LSF, too. In the example below the demonstrative has an NP (i.e. indefinite) antecedent. As a result, the verb is in its indefinite form:

[99] The mechanism whereby *autót* 'car' surfaces in the matrix clause in such examples will be described in section 8.5.

(8) A : Kérsz tortát ?
want.2SG.indef cake.ACC
'Would you like (some) cake ?'

B : (Azt) kérek.
dem.ACC want.1SG.**indef**
'I'd like some.'

Moreover, a demonstrative with an NP antecedent can refer to a singular (count) noun both in its singular (cf. (9)B) and in its plural form (cf. (9)C).

(9) A : Látott Mari zsiráfot az állatkertben?
saw.3SG.indef Mary giraffe.ACC the zoo.IN
'Has Mary seen (some) giraffes in the zoo?'

B : **Az-ø-t** nem látott.
dem.SG.ACC not saw.3SG.**indef**
'She hasn't seen that kind of animal.'

C : **Az-ok-at** nem látott.
dem.PL.ACC not saw.3SG.**indef**
'She hasn't seen any.'

In other words, a number mismatch can not only be found in LSF but also in other contexts, where the *az*-pronoun stands for an NP. Note that there is a slight interpretational difference between (9)B and (9)C: when the *az*-pronoun is in its singular form, it has a kind/type-denoting interpretation (cf. (9)B). In (9)C, on the other hand, the plural form refers to representatives of a kind. The same interpretational difference is present in LSF with a singular and with a plural resumptive pronoun (cf. (10) and (11)).

(10) **AUTÓ-T** mondott hogy **(az-t)** **új-at** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ACC new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

(11) **AUTÓ-ø-T** mondott hogy **(az-ok-at)** **új-ak-at** vett.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.PL.ACC new.PL.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought (some) new CARS.'

In (10) the resumptive pronoun in the embedded clause is singular and it denotes a kind while in (11) the resumptive is in its plural form and denotes individual representatives of a kind.

8.4 THE MOVEMENT ANALYSIS OF LSF

Table 1 summarizes the different LSF patterns again. Based on the description of LSF structures in Chapter 4, on the preliminary analysis in Chapter 6 and on the empirical results concerning the island sensitivity of the different LSF structures in Chapter 7, I propose that the following types of LSF are derived by long-distance movement:

- long split subject and object focusing from object clauses and
- long split adjunct NomP focusing from object clauses.

The construction types that I associate with a long-distance movement derivation are marked by shading in table 1.

			Grammaticality of the mLSF	Grammaticality of the eLSF
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

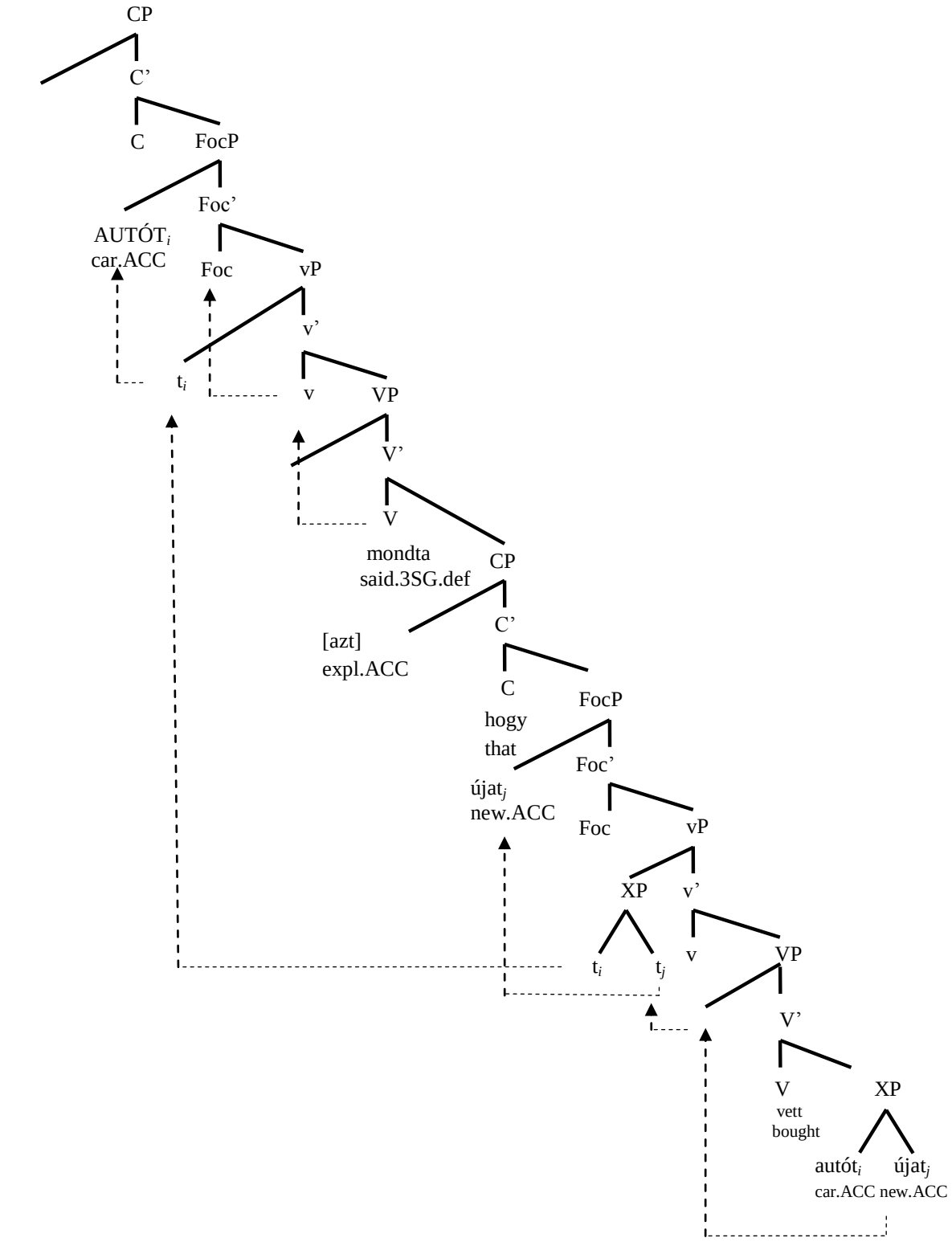
Table 1. The applicability of the 'long-distance movement' derivation over the different types of LSF (shaded)

Example (12) is an instantiation of a 'movement' LSF structure. More specifically, it is an 'embedded case' type (cf. the lack of definiteness agreement between *CORE* and the matrix verb) involving object fronting from an object clause.

(12) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'

The derivation of this sentence is represented in the tree structure in (13).

(13)[100]



[100] Verb movement to the Foc head is not indicated in the embedded clause.

The main steps of the long-distance movement derivation shown in 0 are the following:

The embedded object is base-generated in the complement position of the embedded verb.[101] It is marked by the label XP. For the XP to be split I assume the structure shown in (4). The complex constituent first moves to the embedded Spec,vP. The split between the NP and the AP (i.e. *CORE* and *REM*) takes place in the embedded Spec,vP. This is suggested by the fact that this construction is strongly degraded with a post-verbal *REM* (cf. section 7.2.3.1).

(14)	**?***	**AUTÓT**	mondta	hogy	vett	**(egy)**	**újat.**
		car.ACC	said.3SG.def	that	bought.3SG.indef	a	new.ACC
		INTENDED: *'He has said that he bought a new CAR.'*					

Example (14) shows that *REM* surfaces in post-verbal position in the embedded clause while *CORE* is found in pre-verbal position. The way to get this word order is to split up the predicative XP at a point in the derivation where both *CORE* and *REM* occur post-verbally. The fact that this example is ungrammatical suggests that the split cannot take place in post-verbal position.

The clausal expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP. The matrix verb, because it is an accusative-assigning matrix verb, agrees with the expletive base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP. The expletive is not pronounced in the embedded Spec,CP.[102] This is indicated by the square brackets around the pronoun *azt* in the tree.

From the embedded Spec,vP *CORE* subextracts and moves to the matrix Spec,vP, skipping the embedded Spec,CP.[103] *CORE* in turn moves to the Spec,FocP of the matrix clause.

REM can move from the embedded Spec,vP to the embedded Spec,FocP or Spec,CTopP. In the structure shown in (10) it moves up to the embedded Spec,FocP.

This analysis explains why *CORE* bears embedded case and why the matrix verb is in its definite form. It also explains why resumptive insertion and number mismatch are incompatible with this structure: as long-distance movement takes place, the NomP to be long-focused must contain the same features in the embedded clause as in the matrix clause.

[101] In subject extraction the subject is base-generated in the embedded Spec,VP but this does not influence the further steps of the derivation.

[102] I have no explanation for the fact that the expletive must remain silent in the embedded Spec,CP in LSF.

[103] Rackowski and Richards (2005) claim that one fell swoop movement is possible because the matrix *v* agrees with the embedded CP. However, as long-distance movement is the only option to derive LSF with nominative-assigning matrix predicates (i.e. those that cannot agree in definiteness in Hungarian, cf. (i) and (ii)), I assume that the reason why one fell swoop movement takes place in LSF is that the embedded Spec,CP is occupied by the expletive.

(i)	**AUTÓT**	nyilvánvaló	hogy	**újat**	vett.
	car.ACC	obvious	that	new.ACC	bought.3SG.indef
	'It is obvious that he bought a new CAR.'				

(ii)	***AUTÓ**	nyilvánvaló	hogy	**újat**	vett.
	car.NOM	obvious	that	new.ACC	bought.3SG.indef

8.5 THE BASE-GENERATION ANALYSIS OF LSF

The characteristics of concord, a type of A'-dependency recently proposed in Den Dikken (2010) for the Hungarian LUF construction, were described in section 5.2.3. While I adopt the main ingredients of this account, there are a number of points where my concord analysis differs from Den Dikken's. These will be pointed out when I describe this derivational option below and they will be summarized in Chapter 9.

This analysis can account for the main characteristics of LSF with accusative assigning and oblique-assigning matrix verbs as shown in table 2. As Den Dikken (2010) claims for LUF, only arguments can undergo concord in LSF, too.

			Grammaticality of the mLSF	**Grammaticality of the eLSF**
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	×
Adjunct NomP fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

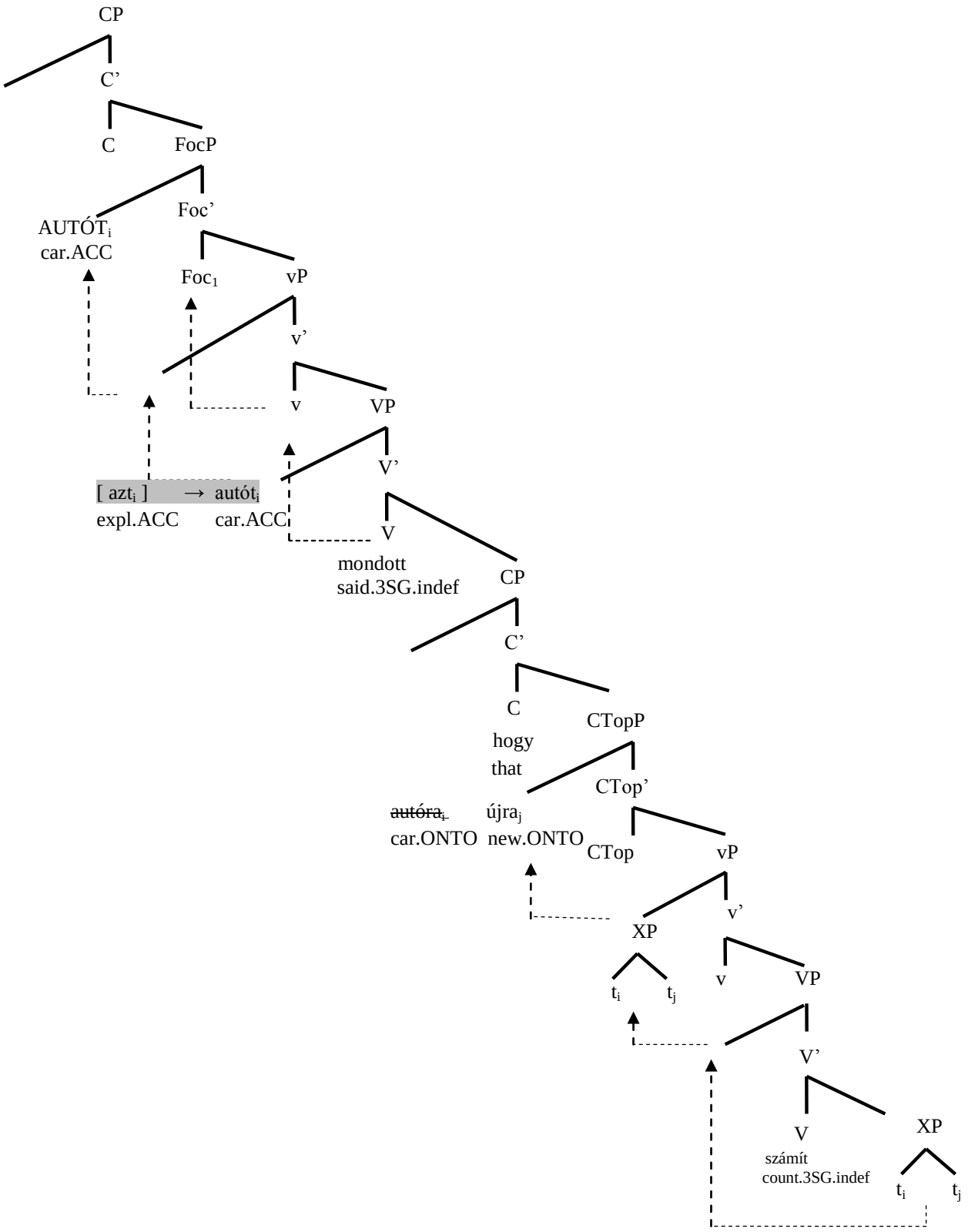
Table 2. The applicability of the 'concord without case' derivation of LSFover the different types (shaded)

Two relevant examples are shown in (15) and (16) and a tree structure representing this type of derivation in (17).

(15) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **(arra)** **újra** számít.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(16) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **új(ak)ra** számít.
car.SG.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects (some) new CARS.'

(17) [104]



[104] Verb movement is not indicated in the embedded clause.

The derivation proceeds in the following way:

The embedded object/oblique complement is base-generated in the complement position of the embedded verb. From there it moves to the embedded Spec,vP. (In subject extraction the subject is base-generated in the embedded Spec,VP but this does not influence the further steps of the derivation). From the embedded Spec,vP *CORE* subextracts and moves to the embedded Spec,CTopP/Spec,FocP. *REM* can stay in post-verbal position or move up to any pre-verbal specifier position. From the embedded Spec,CTopP/Spec,FocP *CORE* establishes concord with the expletive base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP. The establishment of concord proceeds as described in Den Dikken (2010): transfer of features (excluding case) takes place between the lower contentive NomP and the semantically empty expletive base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP. Pace Den Dikken (2010), concord does not take place under closest c-command in my account.[105] After concord, the expletive surfaces in the form of *CORE* (except for case). The matrix verb case-marks *CORE* and, if this case is accusative, the matrix verb also agrees with *CORE* in definiteness. I assume that the lower NomP undergoes ellipsis after feature transfer (cf. Den Dikken 2010) and it becomes a pronoun (subject to pro-drop when the syntactic context allows this), coreferential with *CORE* (cf. section 8.3.). This analysis explains why the matrix verb case-marks *CORE* and agrees with it in definiteness. It also accounts for the possibility of resumptive insertion and number mismatch: after concord has taken place, the contentive NomP undergoes ellipsis and becomes a pronoun (cf. Postal 1969). As this pronoun is coreferential with a bare NP (i.e. *CORE*), it is grammatical both in its singular and in its plural form (cf. section 8.3.).

I leave the discussion of the base-generation structure in which oblique argument focus fronting takes place from an object clause (cf. (18)) for Chapter 9.

(18) **AUTÓ-RA** mondta hogy **(ar-ra)** **új-ra** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

8.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have provided a structure for split ANPs. I have shown that the types of LSF introduced in Chapter 4 can be derived by two derivational options (long-distance movement and concord) and I did not provide an analysis for one base-generation structure (i.e. oblique complement fronting from an object clause). I return to the particulars of the latter construction in Chapter 9. The distribution of the two types of derivation is summarized in table 3. The concord derivation is marked by middle grey shading, the long-distance movement derivation by dark grey shading and the unspecified base-generation analysis by light grey shading.

[105] However, the embedded Spec,CP must be empty for concord to take place.

			Grammaticality of the mLSF	Grammaticality of the eLSF
Argument fronting from	**Object clauses**	**Subject/Object fronting**	✓	✓
		Oblique complement fronting	✓	✓
	Oblique complement clauses	**Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting**	✓	×
Adjunct NomP/fronting from	**Object clauses**		×	✓
	Oblique complement clauses		×	×

Table 3. The applicability of the three different derivations of LSF over the different types

The mechanism of the two derivations was discussed separately in sections 8.4 and 8.5.

In the next chapter I discuss the main results of the dissertation and set out some directions for future research concerning long focus constructions in Hungarian.

9 CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

9.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation discussed LSF involving split ANPs, a type of long focus construction that has not received attention in the generative literature on Hungarian so far. LSF was divided into two main types, i.e. mLSF and eLSF. The derivation of mLSF does not involve long-distance movement and the link between *CORE* and *REM* is established via concord (a recently proposed A'-dependency introduced in Den Dikken 2010 for LUF). The nature of the concord dependency was also investigated. I argued that concord takes place in the following configuration: the expletive occupies the matrix Spec,VP, while the constituent to be partially long-focused can occupy either the embedded Spec,CTopP or the embedded Spec,FocP.

I have also argued that the derivation of the eLSF may or may not involve long-distance movement, depending on the syntactic role and the case of the constituent to be partially long-focused. The derivation of LSF with long adverbial focusing always involves long-distance movement since the other theoretical option, concord, is not available for adjuncts, only for arguments (cf. Den Dikken 2010). On the other hand, I have argued that the long focus fronting of structurally case-marked arguments in the 'embedded case' type of LSF involves long-distance movement via vP edges.

My analysis of LSF, just like existing analyses of LUF, is built on the assumption that EA is the underlying construction of long focus dependencies. Unlike previous analyses of LUF, however, I trace back the main structural differences within LSF to a structural difference distinguishing two types of EA, i.e. to the base-generation site of the expletive in EA. I argue that the 'expletive' can be an argument of the matrix verb in EA and in these cases it is base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP. In this type of EA the embedded clause is adjoined to the matrix clause. In another type of EA, however, the expletive is not an argument of the matrix verb. In this type of EA the embedded clause is the argument of the matrix verb. I have discussed the consequences of the distinction between the two types of EA on the formation of LSF. Concretely, in cases where the expletive is base-generated in the matrix Spec,VP and the constituent to be long-focused is an argument, LSF is derived by concord. On the other hand, in types of LSF where the expletive is base-generated in the embedded Spec,CP, only the long-distance movement derivation is available.

The analysis of LSF was also supported by the results of two large-scale experiments, each involving speakers mainly from North-Eastern Hungary. The results of both questionnaires confirmed the distribution of the basic base-generation/long-distance movement distinction I proposed based on the distribution of mLSF and eLSF and on that of resumptive insertion and number mismatch in Chapter 6.

The results of these experiments do not suggest a systematic speaker variation concerning the derivation of LSF and LUF. This contradicts Gervain's (2002, 2009, Gervain & Zemplén 2005) findings about LUF, which could suggest dialectal variation concerning the derivation of long focus constructions across Hungary. More systematic (wide-scale) dialect research on Hungarian is necessary to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

My description of the characteristics of LSF and LUF suggests a close relation between the two long focus constructions, which is also explicitly formulated at several points in this thesis. Although the main topic of the present dissertation is LSF, it was proposed that my analysis of LSF carries over to LUF. Future research on LUF will have to determine to what extent this position is tenable.

9.2 PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In did not provide an account of the long focus fronting of oblique-marked complements in this dissertation. However, I proposed that the derivation of this construction does not involve long-distance movement (cf. Chapter 6). The relevant structure is shaded in table 1.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3"></th><th>Grammaticality of the mLSF</th><th>Grammaticality of the eLSF</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Argument fronting from</td><td rowspan="2">Object clauses</td><td>Subject/Object fronting</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>Oblique complement fronting</td><td>✓</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td>Oblique complement clauses</td><td>Subject/Object/Oblique complement fronting</td><td>✓</td><td>×</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Adjunct NomP fronting from</td><td colspan="2">Object clauses</td><td>×</td><td>✓</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Oblique complement clauses</td><td>×</td><td>×</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1. An unspecified base-generation type of LSF

Two examples illustrating this structure are shown in (1) and (2).

(1) **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **(arra)** **újra** számít.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO new.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

(2) **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **új(ak)ra** számít.
car.SG.ONTO said.3SG.def that new.PL.ONTO count.3SG
'He has said that he expects (some) new CARS.'

As mentioned at several points in this dissertation, this construction shows symptoms of both base-generation and movement. Table 2 summarizes these characteristics.

eLSF with oblique argument focus fronting from an object clause	
Pro base-generation	**Pro movement**
• Compatibility with resumptive insertion • Compatibility with number mismatch • Lack of island-sensitivity	• Embedded case on CORE

Table 2. The main characteristics of eLSF with oblique argument focus fronting from an object clause

Another peculiarity of this construction is that it is ungrammatical with a post-verbal *REM* (cf. section 7.2.3.1) is illustrated in (3).

(3) * **AUTÓRA** mondta hogy (arra) számít egy **újra**.
car.ONTO said.3SG.def that res.pro.ONTO count.3SG a new.ONTO
'He has said that he expects a new CAR.'

This is what we have also found in the movement types of eLSF (cf. sections 8.4).
One direction to pursue could be to assume that concord also involves the transmission of case features in this type of LSF. Den Dikken (2010) argues that this type of concord exists (cf. 'case concord') in languages that have their scope-marker base-generated in the matrix Spec,vP. For example, long A'-dependencies can never exhibit a case mismatch in German (cf. (4)).

(4) Wer/*Wen glaubst du dass e_{NOM} dieses Buch geschrieben hat?
Who.NOM/ACC believe.2SG you that this book written has
'Who do you think wrote this book?'

(Den Dikken 2010: 13)

Den Dikken (2010) claims that this is because the scope-marker in German is base-generated outside the c-command domain of the matrix *v*. It could be investigated what the motivation could be for concord involving case in Hungarian.

In my dissertation LSF containing matrix predicates with a modal meaning were not taken into account.[106] They exhibit different syntactic characteristics from LSF/LUF with non-modal matrix predicates at least in two respects. First, with this type of matrix predicate the syntactic difference concerning the distribution of the 'matrix case' and 'embedded case' variants between long focalization and long topicalization vanishes. In Chapter 3 I have shown the following difference: LSF with an accusative-assigning matrix predicate comes both in the matrix case and in the embedded case variant (cf. (5) and (6)) while LST comes in the embedded case variant only (cf. (7)).

(5) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓT]** hallott-ø-(*a) hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.ACC heard.3SG.**indef**/def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new CAR.'

(6) [$_{Spec,FocP}$ *CORE* **AUTÓNAK]** hallott-(*ø)-a hogy [*REM* **újnak]** örülnének.
car.DAT heard.3SG.indef/**def** that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new CAR.'

(7) [$_{Spec,\ CTopP}$ *CORE* /**Autót**] (azt) hallott-ák/(*ak) hogy
car.ACC res.pro.ACC heard.3PL.**def**/indef that
[*REM* **zöldet**] vett.
green.ACC bought.3SG
'They heard that of cars he had bought a green one.'

On the other hand, long topicalization with a modal matrix predicate (cf. *akar* 'want'in (8) and (9)) also allows the 'matrix case' types:

Long split topicalization:

(8) / **Autót** (azt) akart-**ø/-a** hogy **újat** vegyünk.
car.ACC res.pro.ACC want.3SG.**indef/def** that new.ACC buy.1PL.Subj
'He wanted us to buy a new car.'

[106] In this type of LSF/LUF the embedded verb is obligatorily in its subjunctive form as clear from the relevant examples of this chapter.

Long unsplit topicalization:

(9) / **Autót** (azt) akart-**ø/-a** hogy vegyünk.
car.ACC res.pro.ACC want.3SG.**indef/def** that buy.1PL.Subj
'He wanted us to buy a car.'

It would be worth investigating how my analysis can be extended to long split topicalization in Hungarian in general. It would also be interesting to find out why both mLST and eLST are acceptable with modal matrix predicates but only eLST is acceptable with non-modal matrix predicates.

The second peculiarity of LSF/LUF with a modal matrix predicate is that the mLSF (cf. (10) and (11)) and the mLUF (cf. (12) and (13)), are compatible with a preverb in the matrix clause, contrary to LSF with non-modal predicates.

LSF:

(10) **KUTYÁT** engedtél **meg** hogy hazahozzunk **egy** **újat**.
dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef a new.ACC
'You allowed us to take a new dog home.'

(11) **KUTYÁT** engedtél **meg** hogy **újat** hozzunk haza.
dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that new.ACC take.Subj.1PL.indef home
'You allowed us to take a new dog home.'

LUF:

(12) **KUTYÁT** engedtél **meg** hogy hazahozzunk.
dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef
'You allowed us to take a dog home.'

(13) **KUTYÁT** engedtél **meg** hogy hozzunk haza.
dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef home
'You allowed us to take a dog home.'

I leave the above issues for future research.

10 APPENDICES

10.1 APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE 1

10.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of questionnaire 1 was to test LSF constructions in their baseline forms and in more complex syntactic environments that could shed light on certain aspects of their derivation. The secondary goal of the questionnaire was to find out whether speaker judgements support the hypothesis that LSF and LUF share the same derivation. Therefore, the questionnaire also contained a number of test sentences on LUF to be able to investigate whether the speaker groups found in connection with LUF structures in previous research (cf. Gervain 2002, 2009, Gervain & Zemplén 2005) could be found in connection with LSF, too. This appendix is organized as follows: section 10.1.2 describes questionnaire 1 from a methodological point of view. In section 10.1.3 I explain the most important practical details. A fully glossed version of questionnaire 1, together with the scores can be found in section 10.1.4.

10.1.2 METHODOLOGY

The five-point scale method is a relatively well-known and widely used strategy in linguistics. It comes in several types based on the extension of the applied scale, the most common ones being the 5-point and the 7-point scale (also called Likert scale). Informants are asked to judge the grammaticality of sentences on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being unacceptable and 5 being fully acceptable or vice versa.

One advantage of the five-point scale method to other testing methods is that it is fairly easy to execute and it provides a way of classifying judgments according to well-known symbols of grammaticality, e.g. if we take the lower end of the scale to be '1', it can correspond to '*', 2 to '?*', 3 to '??', 4 to '?' and 5 to a fully acceptable structure. In other words, the judgments can straightforwardly be turned into well-known symbols of acceptability used in linguistic publications.

Although the scores obtained via the five-point scale testing method are not considered to be suitable for parametric statistical analyses by several experts (cf. Bard et al. 1996, Sorace and Keller 2005), others do not regard it as a fundamental shortcoming of the method. Fukuda (2012) et al., for example, argue that despite the fact that the scores cannot be statistically processed, the results of the five-point scale method correlate well with the results of methods producing data suitable for statistical analyses (e.g. magnitude estimation testing).

As pointed out in section 4.2.2, LSF and LUF are substandard, marked structures in comparison with their standard Hungarian correlate, i.e. EA (cf. section 4.2.3). Therefore, it was expected that long focus constructions would receive lower scores than EA on the five-point scale. This was indeed found to be the case. The judgements of LSF were compared to those of EA. The most frequently used rating (i.e. the modus) of the EA test sentence below was 5 (i.e. 'perfectly acceptable'):

(1) Azt mondta hogy új autót vett.
Expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'

LSF in general, as expected, received lower acceptability scores. In order to take into account the marked status of this construction, I set the bar lower for considering those examples grammatical. In what follows I introduce two simple criteria I applied to define the grammaticality of the test sentences in questionnaire 1. The first criterion is a general one that needs to apply first:

(2) *General criterion of ungrammaticality in questionnaire 1*

A structure is regarded as categorically ungrammatical if both of the following conditions hold:

- modus=1 or 2
- average <2

For example, sentence (3) has the following parameters: modus=3, average=3.32. As its modus is higher than 2 and its average is not below 2, it meets the general criterion of grammaticality.

(3) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

Note that sentence (4) (modus=2, average=2.74) also passes this filter, even though it only satisfies the criterion related to average.

(4) **AUTÓT** hallott hogy örülnének **egy** **újnak**.
car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that would.be.pleased.3PL a new.DAT
'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'

The second criterion is a more specific one allowing me to detect speaker variation. It applies to those sentences that are not filtered out by the general criterion of ungrammaticality in (5).

(5) *Cut-off point of grammaticality in questionnaire 1*

The cut-off point for grammaticality is 3. If a test sentence scores ≥3 for an informant, then that informant is regarded to accept the structure.

For example, if sentence (3) has been rated at ≥3 by thirty informants and <3 by fifty informants, it means that thirty informants accepted the structure while fifty did not accept it. Note that (2) applies to the average (and modus) score of a sentence for the entire group of informants while (5) applies to scores given by individual informants.
The second criterion will be particularly important for the discussion of speaker variation in section 7.5. In the next section the second criterion will be used to show how the *majority* of speakers rated a given structure. When a structure is referred to as 'ungrammatical'/'unacceptable', it means that it did not pass the filter in (2). Those test sentences that are not filtered out by (2) are considered acceptable (even though not necessarily *generally* acceptable). For the exact scores and percentages of speakers rating a structure at one of the scores between 1 to 5 the reader is invited to consult section 10.1.4.

10.1.3 PRACTICAL DETAILS

Questionnaire 1 was distributed among eighty-three native speakers at the College of Nyíregyháza, Hungary, in March - April 2011. Approximately eighty percent of the informants permanently live in North-Eastern Hungary and can therefore be regarded as speakers of one major regional dialect. The informants also constitute a homogeneous group in terms of age and occupation: ninety-four percent were aged between nineteen and twenty-five years and they were students at the above-mentioned institution. The remaining six per cent of the informants were teachers aged between 31 and 60 years.

Prior to completing the test, informants were asked to read the instructions carefully (cf. the cover page of questionnaire 1 in Appendix 1). Subjects were asked to fill out the questionnaire in thirty minutes. Most of them managed to complete the test in twenty minutes and all of them completed it within the allocated time frame. Although it is regarded as a potential danger of the method that some informants may not exploit the full range of the 5-point scale, none of my informants refrained from the extremes of the scale.

The instructions concerning the questionnaire were divided into two brief sections. The first one introduced the construction that is the main subject of testing, i.e. LSF. While this is not normally done in grammaticality judgment testing, experience from previous, informal testing done by the author (December 2009, 2010) had shown a tendency among informants to 'correct' the substandard LSF/LUF construction and turn it into the standard variant of the structure, namely EA. Therefore, it was briefly explained in the instruction that EA is the standard variant of the substandard LSF structure subject to testing. An example of EA and an example of LSF was shown, the latter one with a slash between definite and indefinite agreement in the matrix clause so as not to suggest that one could be considered better than the other. The second section of the instruction explained that the word written in capitals should receive strong stress (i.e. focus) and is not uttered with a rising tone (i.e. contrastive topic). Finally, a brief explanation of each of the five scores was given in order to give the informants some orientation regarding the judgment classes.

The questionnaire contained ninety-one test items altogether in nine main questionnaire sections for LSF and LUF. As the central subject of testing was LSF, seventy-one test sentences were constructed for this structure. In addition, eighteen LUF structures were included[107] and two EA-constructions were tested to be able to compare their intonation patterns to those of LSF. Thirty-two fillers on backward gapping were included in sections of four items each. As backward gapping is not connected to the topic of this dissertation in any way, the fillers were removed from the questionnaire shown in section 10.1.4.

10.1.4 QUESTIONNAIRE 1

I first give translation of the cover page of the questionnaire and then the questionnaire itself:

[107]Four of these are strictly speaking long-distance wh-movement structures. However, I regard long-distance wh-movement as an instance of LUF (cf. section 1.1).

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TEST

Date of birth: .....
Place of birth: .....
Place of residence: .....
Known foreign language(s): .....

GUIDELINES TO FILL OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1.1. About the tested structure:

This questionnaire aims at investigating a spoken language structure in which the place of the expletive (azt 'expl.ACC') in a complex clause is occupied by an element with independent lexical content (autót 'car.ACC').

Example of a structure with an expletive:

Azt	mondta,	hogy	**új**	**autót**	vett.
Expl.ACC	said.3SG	that	new	car.ACC	bought.3SG

'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'

Example of a structure without an expletive:

AUTÓT	mondta/mondott	hogy	**újat**	vett.
Car.ACC	said.3SG.def/indef	that	new.ACC	bought.3SG

'(S)he said that(s)he had bought a new CAR.'

1.2.The task:

In the test sentences the emphatic noun (written in bold capitals[108]) should be pronounced with a strong stress (without a rising intonation).

Please judge the acceptability of the following sentences on a scale of 1 to 5 corresponding to the following definitions:

5 – acceptable in spoken language; I'm sure I have heard such a structure
4 – acceptable in spoken language; I have heard such a structure but it sounds a bit odd
3 – acceptable in spoken language but it's odd; I rarely hear such a structure
2 – it sounds very odd but maybe I heard such a construction in exceptional situations
1 – I'm sure I can't imagine any situation in which the sentence could be used; I haven't heard such a structure

The acceptability of the last twelve sentences should be judged after listening to them on the tape recorder.

[108] In the original test only the long-focused NomP was written in bold capitals. However, in order to make the complex examples more easily parseable for non-native readers, *REM* and other relevant nominals (i.e. the head noun introducing the island in complex NP island configurations) are also written in bold (but not in capitals) in this copy of the questionnaire.

1. Possible types of LSF with a preverbal Rem

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
1	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**9,64**	**14,46**	**32,53**	**20,48**	**22,89**	**3.32**	**3**
2	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**32,53**	**24,10**	**25,30**	**15,66**	**2,41**	**2.30**	**1**
3	**AUTÓT** hallott hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL *'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**26,51**	**24,10**	**22,89**	**18,07**	**8,43**	**2.56**	**1**
4	**AUTÓT** hallotta hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.ACC heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL *'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**48,19**	**22,89**	**21,69**	**3,61**	**2,41**	**1.86**	**1**
5	**AUTÓNAK** hallotta hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.DAT heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL *'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**42,17**	**27,71**	**14,46**	**9,64**	**6,02**	**2.10**	**1**
6	**AUTÓNAK** hallott hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.DAT heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL *'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**62,65**	**15,66**	**8,43**	**9,64**	**3,61**	**1.77**	**1**
7	**AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újat** kap. car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.ACC receive.3SG.indef *'(S)he expected to receive a new car.'*	**2,41**	**12,05**	**33,73**	**24,10**	**27,71**	**3.62**	**3**
8	**AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újjal** dicsekedhet. car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.INSTR boast.can.3SG.indef *'(S)he expected to be able to boast of a new car.'*	**22,89**	**22,89**	**19,28**	**14,46**	**20,48**	**2.85**	**2**

2. Possible types of LSF with a postverbal Rem

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
9	**AUTÓT** hallott hogy vettek **egy újat**. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that bought.3PL.indef a new.ACC *'(S)he heard that they had bought a new car.'*	**18,07**	**20,48**	**28,92**	**16,87**	**15,66**	**2.90**	**3**
10	**AUTÓT** hallotta hogy vettek **egy újat**. car.ACC heard.3SG.def that bought.3PL.indef a new.ACC *'(S)he heard that they had bought a new car.'*	**37,35**	**32,53**	**13,25**	**8,43**	**8,43**	**2.18**	**1**
11	**AUTÓT** hallott hogy örülnének **egy újnak**. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that would.be.pleased.3PL a new.DAT *'(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**19,28**	**27,71**	**24,10**	**15,66**	**13,25**	**2.74**	**2**
12	**AUTÓRA** hallotta hogy számítanak **egy újra**. car.ONTO heard.3SG.def that count.3PL.indef a new.ONTO *'(S)he heard that they expect a new car.'*	**65,06**	**15,66**	**9,64**	**7,23**	**2,41**	**1.67**	**1**
13	**AUTÓRA** számított hogy kapnak **egy újat**. car.ONTO counted.3PL.indef that get.3PL.indef a new.ACC *'(S)he expected that they would get a new car.'*	**6,02**	**14,46**	**25,30**	**27,71**	**26,51**	**3.54**	**4**
14	**AUTÓRA** számított hogy dicsekedhet **egy újjal**. car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that boast.can.3SG.indef a new.INSTR *'(S)he expected that (s)he could boast of a new car.'*	**16,87**	**16,87**	**21,69**	**30,12**	**14,46**	**3.07**	**4**

3. Possibility of Foc-to-Foc movement with different NomPs: 3.1 Definite NomPs, 3.2 Wh-indefinites, 3.3 Quantified indefinites, 3.4 Bare indefinites (unsplit), 3.5 Bare indefinites (split)

3.1 Definite NomPs

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
15	**PÉTERT** engedte meg hogy hazahozzuk. Peter.ACC allowed.3SG.def. PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.def *'(S)he allowed us to take Peter home.'*	**32,53**	**13,25**	**15,66**	**21,69**	**16,87**	**2.76**	**1**
16	**PÉTERT** engedte meg hogy hozzuk haza. Peter.ACC allowed.3SG.def. PV that take.Subj.1PL.def home *'(S)he allowed us to take Peter home.'*	**27,71**	**27,71**	**18,07**	**19,28**	**7,23**	**2.51**	**2**

3.2 Wh-indefinites

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
17	Mit engedtél meg hogy hazahozzunk? what.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take. Subj.1PL.indef *'What did you allow us to take home?'*	**14,46**	**15,66**	**14,46**	**21,69**	**33,73**	**3.44**	**5**
18	Mit engedtél meg hogy hozzunk haza? what.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef home *'What did you allow us to take home?'*	**12,05**	**14,46**	**34,94**	**25,30**	**13,25**	**3.15**	**3**
19	Mit engedted meg hogy hazahozzunk? what.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef *'What did you allow us to take home?'*	**49,40**	**25,30**	**12,05**	**10,84**	**2,41**	**1.93**	**1**
20	Mit engedted meg hogy hozzunk haza? what.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that take.Subj.1Pl.indef home *'What did you allow us to take home?'*	**50,60**	**28,92**	**8,43**	**8,43**	**3,61**	**1.87**	**1**

3.3 Quantified indefinites

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
21	**KÉT KÖNYVET** engedtél meghogy hazahozzunk. two book.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef *'You allowed us to take two books home.'*	**3,61**	**12,05**	**13,25**	**19,28**	**51,81**	**4.04**	**5**
22	**KÉT KÖNYVET** engedtél meg hogy hozzunk haza. two book.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef. home *'You allowed us to take two books home.'*	**9,64**	**27,71**	**22,89**	**22,89**	**16,87**	**3.11**	**2**
23	**KÉT KÖNYVET** engedted meg hogy hazahozzunk. two book.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef *'You allowed us to take two books home.'*	**40,96**	**31,33**	**14,46**	**4,82**	**8,43**	**2.10**	**1**
24	**KÉT KÖNYVET** engedted meg hogy hozzunk haza. two book.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef. home *'You allowed us to take two books home.'*	**36,14**	**27,71**	**24,10**	**8,43**	**3,61**	**2.17**	**1**

3.4 Bare indefinites (unsplit)

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
25	**KUTYÁT** engedtél meg hogy hazahozzunk. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef *'You allowed us to take a dog home.'*	**13,25**	**25,30**	**27,71**	**19,28**	**14,46**	**2.95**	**3**
26	**KUTYÁT** engedtél meg hogy hozzunk haza. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef home *'You allowed us to take a dog home.'*	**10,84**	**30,12**	**28,92**	**18,07**	**12,05**	**2.91**	**2**
27	**KUTYÁT** engedted meg hogy hazahozzunk. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef *'You allowed us to take a dog home.'*	**26,51**	**28,92**	**18,07**	**15,66**	**10,84**	**2.56**	**2**
28	**KUTYÁT** engedted meg hogy hozzunk haza. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that take.Subj.1PL.indef home *'You allowed us to take a dog home.'*	**25,30**	**38,55**	**16,87**	**13,25**	**6,02**	**2.37**	**2**

3.5 Bare indefinites (split)

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
29	**KUTYÁT** engedtél meg hogy hazahozzunk **egy újat**. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef a new.ACC *'You allowed us to take a new dog home.'*	**28,92**	**32,53**	**25,30**	**9,64**	**3,61**	**2.27**	**2**
30	**KUTYÁT** engedtél meg hogy **újat** hozzunk haza. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.indef PV that new.ACC take.Subj.1PL.indef home '*You allowed us to take a new dog home.'*	**18,07**	**22,89**	**26,51**	**22,89**	**8,43**	**2.79**	**3**
31	**KUTYÁT** engedted meg hogy hazahozzunk **egy újat**. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that home.take.Subj.1PL.indef a new.ACC *'You allowed us to take a new dog home.'*	**33,73**	**31,33**	**19,28**	**8,43**	**7,23**	**2.24**	**1**
32	**KUTYÁT** engedted meg hogy **újat** hozzunk haza. dog.ACC allowed.2SG.def PV that new.ACC take.Subj.1PL.indef home *'You allowed us to take a new dog home.'*	**32,53**	**21,69**	**19,28**	**18,07**	**8,43**	**2.48**	**1**

4. Reconstruction

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
33	**KÉPET** egymásról mondta hogy a lányok **újat** photo.ACC each.other.ABOUT said.3SG.def that the girls new.ACC csináltak. made.3PL.indef *'(S)he said that the girls took a new picture of each other.'*	**66,27**	**22,89**	**7,23**	**2,41**	**1,20**	**1.49**	**1**
34	**KÉPNEK** egymásról mondta hogy a lányok **újnak** photo.DAT each.other.ABOUT said.3SG.def that the girls new.DAT örülnének. would.be.happy.3PL.indef *'(S)he said that the girls would be happy with a new picture of each other.'*	**71,08**	**12,05**	**10,84**	**3,61**	**2,41**	**1.52**	**1**
35	**KÉPET** egymásról mondott hogy a lányok **újat** photo.ACC each.other.ABOUT said.3SG.indef that the girls new.ACC csináltak. made.3PL.indef *'(S)he said that the girls took a new picture of each other.'*	**54,22**	**25,30**	**9,64**	**8,43**	**2,41**	**1.79**	**1**
36	**KÉPET** egymásról mondott hogy a lányok **újnak**	**60,24**	**20,48**	**8,43**	**7,23**	**3,61**	**1.74**	**1**

	photo.ACC each.other.ABOUT said.3SG.indef that the girls new.DAT örülnének. would.be.happy.3PL.indef *'(S)he said that the girls would be happy with a/some new picture(s) of each other.'*							

5. Adjunct islands

Az erdőben rendezett versenyen az a feladat, hogy minél többféle zöld színű állatot kell összegyűjteni egy óra alatt. A verseny után Éva azt mondja, hogy az ellenfél csapatából Robi azt mondta, hogy pont a verseny utan talált egy zöld bogarat. Péter nem bogárra emlekszik, hanem lepkére, és ezt mondja:

'A competition is organized in a forest. The task is to collect as many green animals as possible in one hour. After the competition Eve says that Robi from the other group has said that he found a green bug as soon as the competition finished. Peter thinks that Robi said he had found a butterfly (and not a bug) and says:'

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
37	**LEPKÉT** mondta hogy már vége lett a butterfly.ACC said.3SG.def that already end became.3SG the versenynek mikor **zöldet** találtak. competition.DAT when green.ACC found.3PL.indef *'He said that by the time they found a green butterfly, the competition had ended.'*	**53,01**	**30,12**	**12,05**	**1,20**	**3,61**	**1.72**	**1**
38	**LEPKÉT** mondott hogy már vége lett a butterfly.ACC said.3SG.indef that already end became.3SG the versenynek mikor **zöldet** találtak. competition.DAT when green.ACC found.3PL.indef *'He said that by the time they found a green butterfly, the competition had ended.'*	**7,23**	**12,05**	**27,71**	**31,33**	**21,69**	**3.49**	**4**

Az említett versenyen a lepkék különböző parametéreiről is kapnak kérdést a versenyzők. Éva szerint az ellenfél csapatából Robinak pont akkor jutott eszébe a helyes válasz a lepkék hosszáról, amikor már letelt az idő. Péter nem hosszra, hanem súlyra emlékszik, és ezt mondja:

'At the above mentioned competition participants receive some questions about the different parameters of butterflies. According to Eve Robi remembered the correct answer about the length of butterflies as soon as time had been up. Peter thinks it was not about the length but about the weight of butterflies and says: '

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
39	**SÚLYT** mondott hogy már vége lett a weight.ACC said.3SG.indef that already end became.3SG the versenynek mikor **jóra** emlékezett. competition.DAT when correct.ONTO remembered.3SG.indef *'He said that by the time he remembered the correct weight the competition had ended.'*	**19,28**	**26,51**	**22,89**	**20,48**	**9,64**	**2.75**	**2**
40	**SÚLYRA** mondta hogy már vége lett a weight.ONTO said.3SG.def that already end became.3SG the versenynek mikor **jóra** emlékezett. competition.DAT when correct.ONTO remembered.3SG.indef *'He said that by the time he remembered the correct weight the competition had ended.'*	**34,94**	**16,87**	**19,28**	**13,25**	**15,66**	**2.57**	**1**

6. Complex NP islands – 2-clausal

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
41	**AUTÓT** hallotta **a hírt** hogy **újat** vettek. car.ACC heard.3SG.def the news.ACC that new.ACC bought.3PL.indef *'(S)he's heard the news that they bought a new car.'*	**59,04**	**22,89**	**9,64**	**4,82**	**2,41**	**1.68**	**1**
42	**AUTÓT** hallott **olyan híreket** hogy **újat** vettek. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef such news.ACC that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he's heard some news that they bought a new car.'*	**61,45**	**19,28**	**9,64**	**7,23**	**2,41**	**1.71**	**1**
43	**AUTÓT** hallott **olyan híreket** hogy **újnak** car.ACC heard.3SG.indef such news.ACC that new.DAT would.be.happy.3SG örülne. *'(S)he's heard some news that (s)he would be pleased with a new car.'*	**57,83**	**24,10**	**12,05**	**3,61**	**2,41**	**1.70**	**1**
44	**AUTÓRA** hallotta **a hírt** hogy **újra** számít. car.ONTO heard.3SG.def the news.ACC that new.ONTO count.3SG.indef *'(S)he's heard the news that (s)he expects a new car.'*	**32,53**	**28,92**	**19,28**	**13,25**	**6,02**	**2.30**	**1**
45	**AUTÓRA** hallott **olyan híreket** hogy **újra** számítanak. car.ONTO heard.3SG.indef such news.ACC that new.ONTO count.3PL.indef *'(S)he's heard some news that they expect a new car.'*	**28,92**	**21,69**	**24,10**	**15,66**	**9,64**	**2.55**	**1**

7. Complex NP islands 3-clausal

7.1. eLSF: $CORE_{ACC}$ – complex NP_{ACC} - REM_{ACC}

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
46	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy hallotta **a** **hírt** hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.def that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC** that **újat** vettek. new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that he heard the news that they had bought a new car.'*	**40,96**	**26,51**	**16,87**	**12,05**	**3,61**	**2.11**	**1**
47	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy hallott **olyan** **hírt** hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.def that heard.3SG.indef such news.**ACC** that **újat** vettek. new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that he heard some news that they had bought a new car.'*	**32,53**	**20,48**	**26,51**	**12,05**	**8,43**	**2.43**	**1**
48	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy **az** **a** **hír** kering car.**ACC** said.3SG.def that Dem. the news.(SG.**NOM**) circulate.3SG hogy **újat** vettek. that new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that the news circulates that they bought a new car.'*	**32,53**	**18,07**	**26,51**	**19,28**	**3,61**	**2.44**	**1**
49	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy **olyan** **hírek** keringenek car.**ACC** said.3SG.def that such news.PL.NOM circulate.3PL hogy **újat** vesznek. that new.**ACC** buy.3PL.indef *'He's said that some pieces of news circulate that they will buy a new car.'*	**21,69**	**31,33**	**24,10**	**13,25**	**9,64**	**2.57**	**2**
50	**KALAPOT** mondta hogy **arra** **a** **szívességre** hat.**ACC** said.3SG.def that Dem.ONTO the favour.**ONTO** kérték hogy **pirosat** hozzon. asked.3PL.def that red.**ACC** bring.Imp.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that they asked him/her the favour to bring them a red hat.'*	**31,33**	**26,51**	**26,51**	**13,25**	**2,41**	**2.29**	**1**
51	**KALAPOT** mondta hogy **olyan** **szívességre** kérték hogy **pirosat** hozzon. hat.**ACC** said.3SG.def that such favour.**ONTO** asked.3PL.def that red.**ACC** bring.3SG.Imp.indef *'(S)he's said that they asked him/her the favour to bring them a red hat.'*	**27,71**	**20,48**	**26,51**	**20,48**	**4,82**	**2.54**	**1**

7.2. mLSF: $CORE_{ACC}$ – complex NP_{ACC} - REM_{ACC}

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
52	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallotta **a hírt** car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC** hogy **újat** vettek. that new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that he heard the news that they had bought a new car.'*	**24,10**	**24,10**	**22,89**	**20,48**	**8,43**	**2.63**	**2**
53	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallott **olyan hírt** hogy **újat** vettek. car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.indef such news.**ACC** that new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that he heard some news that they had bought a new car.'*	**16,87**	**21,69**	**30,12**	**27,71**	**3,61**	**2.79**	**3**
54	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **az a hír** járja car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem. the news.(SG.**NOM**) go.3SG.def hogy **újat** vettek. that new.**ACC** bought.3PL.indef *'He's said that the news circulates that they bought a new car.'*	**22,89**	**21,69**	**24,10**	**22,89**	**8,43**	**2.71**	**3**
55	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan hírek** keringenek car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such news.PL.NOM circulate.3PL hogy **újat** vesznek. that new.**ACC** buy.3PL.indef *'He's said that some news circulate that they will buy a new car.'*	**20,48**	**18,07**	**25,30**	**28,92**	**7,23**	**2.84**	**4**
56	**KALAPOT** mondott hogy **arra a szívességre** hat.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem.**ONTO** the favour.**ONTO** kérték hogy **pirosat** hozzon. asked.3PL.def that red.**ACC** bring.Imp.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that they asked him/her the favour to bring them a red hat.'*	**22,89**	**16,87**	**25,30**	**25,30**	**9,64**	**2.80**	**3**
57	**KALAPOT** mondott hogy **olyan szívességre** kérték hat.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such favour.**ONTO** asked.3PL.def hogy **pirosat** hozzon. that red.**ACC** bring.Imp.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that they asked him/her a favour to bring them a red hat.'*	**21,69**	**21,69**	**28,92**	**18,07**	**9,64**	**2.72**	**3**

7.3. mLSF $CORE_{ACC}$ – complex $NP_{ACC/NOM/ALLAT}$ - $REM_{ACC/NOM/INSTR}$

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
58	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallotta **a hírt** hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.def the news.**ACC** that **új** áll a garázsban new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that there had been a new car standing in the garage.'*	**19,28**	**22,89**	**32,53**	**21,69**	**3,61**	**2.66**	**3**
59	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy hallott olyan **hírt** hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.def such news.**ACC** that **új** áll a garázsban. New.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard some news that there had been a new car standing in the garage.'*	**20,48**	**15,66**	**34,94**	**21,69**	**6,02**	**2.75**	**3**
60	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **az a hír** kering car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem. the news.NOM circulate.3SG hogy **új** áll a garázsban. that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN *'(S)he's said that the news circulates that there's a new car standing in the garage.'*	**16,87**	**21,69**	**31,33**	**25,30**	**3,61**	**2.75**	**3**
61	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan hírek** keringenek car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such news.(PL.**NOM**) circulate.3PL hogy **új** áll a garázsban. that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN *'(S)he said that some pieces of news circulate that there's a new car standing in the garage.'*	**18,07**	**26,51**	**31,33**	**18,07**	**6,02**	**2.67**	**3**
62	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **azt a hírt** hallotta hogy **pirosnak** örülnének. car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem.**ACC** the news.**ACC** heard.3SG.def that red.**DAT** would.be.pleased.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that they would be happy about a red car.'*	**18,07**	**21,69**	**28,92**	**24,10**	**7,23**	**2.79**	**3**
63	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan hírt** hallott hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such news.**ACC** heard.3SG.def that **pirosnak** örülnének. red.**DAT** would.be.pleased.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard some news that they would be happy about a red car.'*	**19,28**	**21,69**	**37,35**	**16,87**	**3,61**	**2.63**	**3**

64	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **arra a szerencsére** car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that expl.**ONTO** the luck.**ONTO** számított hogy **újjal** dicsekedhet. counted.3SG.indef that new.**INSTR** boast.can.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he expected to be so lucky as to be able to boast of a new car.'*	**30,12**	**25,30**	**28,92**	**10,84**	**4,82**	**2.33**	**1**
65	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan szerencsére** számított hogy **újjal** dicsekedhet. car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such luck.**ONTO** counted.3SG.indef that new.**INSTR** boast.can.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he expected to be so lucky as to be able to boast of a new car.'*	**19,28**	**30,12**	**32,53**	**13,25**	**3,61**	**2.51**	**3**

No	**Test sentence**	**Score in percent [%]**					**Average**	**Modus**
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		
66	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **az a hír** kering hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem. the news.NOM circulate.3SG that **újnak** örülnének. new.**DAT** would.be.pleased.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that the news circulates that they would be happy about a new car.'*	**15,66**	**21,69**	**34,94**	**25,30**	**2,41**	**2.76**	**3**
67	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan hírek** keringenek hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such news.NOM circulate.3PL that new.**DAT** would.be.pleased.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that some pieces of news circulate that they would be happy about a new car.'*	**18,07**	**30,12**	**26,51**	**20,48**	**4,82**	**2.63**	**2**
68	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **arra a hírre** car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that Dem.**ONTO** the news.**ONTO** számított hogy **új** áll a garázsban. counted.3SG.indef that new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN *'(S)he's said that (s)he expected the news that there would be a new car standing in the garage.'*	**15,66**	**28,92**	**30,12**	**19,28**	**6,02**	**2.70**	**3**
69	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **olyan hírre** számított hogy car.**ACC** said.3SG.indef that such news.**ONTO** counted.3SG.def that **új** áll a garázsban. new.NOM stand.3SG the garage.IN	**20,48**	**24,10**	**25,30**	**22,89**	**7,23**	**2.72**	**2**

	'(S)he's said that (s)he expected some news that there would be a new car standing in the garage.'							

7.4. eLSF: $CORE_{OBL1}$– complex $NP_{OBL2/NOM/ACC}$– REM_{OBL1}

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
70	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy örült **a hírnek** hogy car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that pleased.was.3SG the news.**DAT** that **újra** számíthat. new.**ONTO** count.can.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he was pleased with the news that (s)he could expect a new car.'*	**22,89**	**27,71**	**20,48**	**19,28**	**9,64**	**2.62**	**2**
71	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy örült **olyan híreknek** hogy car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that pleased.was.3SG such news.**DAT** that **újra** számíthat. new.**ONTO** count.can.3SG.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he was pleased with some news that (s)he could expect a new car.'*	**27,71**	**24,10**	**28,92**	**9,64**	**9,64**	**2.49**	**3**
72	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **az a hír** kering car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that Dem.the news.(SG.**NOM**) circulate.3SG hogy **újra** számítanak. that new.**ONTO** count.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that the news circulates that they expect a new car.'*	**18,07**	**22,89**	**32,53**	**19,28**	**7,23**	**2.72**	**3**
73	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **olyan hírek** keringenek car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that such news.PL.NOM circulate.3PL hogy **újra** számítanak. that new.**ONTO** count.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that some news circulates that they expect a new car.'*	**21,69**	**20,48**	**32,53**	**13,25**	**12,05**	**2.73**	**3**
74	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **azt a hírt** hallotta car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that Dem.**ACC** the news.**ACC** heard.3SG.def hogy **újra** számítanak that new.**ONTO** count.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard the news that they expected a new car.'*	**24,10**	**16,87**	**21,69**	**24,10**	**13,25**	**2.83**	**4**
75	**AUTÓRA** mondta hogy **olyan híreket** hallott car.**ONTO** said.3SG.def that such news.PL.**ACC** heard.3SG.indef hogy **újra** számítanak. that new.**ONTO** count.3PL.indef *'(S)he's said that (s)he heard some news that they expected a new car.'*	**21,69**	**15,66**	**26,51**	**25,30**	**10,84**	**2.88**	**3**

8. Gervain's (2009) test sentences

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
76	Az összes **LÁNYT** mondtad hogy jön. The all girl.ACC said.2SG.def that come.3SG *'You said that all the girls were coming.'*	**7,23**	**14,46**	**18,07**	**18,07**	**37,35**	**3.65**	**5**
77	Az összes **LÁNY** mondtad hogy jön. The all girl said.2SG.def that come.3SG *'You said that all the girls were coming.'*	**28,92**	**19,28**	**19,28**	**14,46**	**14,46**	**2.67**	**1**
78	Az összes **LÁNYT** mondtad hogy jönnek. The all girl.ACC said.2SG.def that come.3PL *'You said that all the girls were coming.'*	**9,64**	**12,05**	**19,28**	**33,73**	**21,69**	**3.48**	**4**
79	Az összes **LÁNY** mondtad hogy jönnek. The all girl said.2SG.def that come.3PL *'You said that all the girls were coming.'*	**39,76**	**24,10**	**14,46**	**9,64**	**8,43**	**2.22**	**1**

9. Intonation patterns (rising or flat tone before the complementizer?)

No	Test sentence	Score in percent [%]					Average	Modus
		1	2	3	4	5		
80	Azt mondta / hogy **új** **autót** vett. Expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'*	**2,41**	**6,02**	**10,84**	**25,30**	**55,42**	**4.24**	**5**
81	Azt mondta hogy **új** **autót** vett. Expl.ACC said.3SG.def that new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new car.'*	**6,02**	**16,87**	**19,28**	**26,51**	**31,33**	**3.59**	**5**
82	**AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**25,30**	**25,30**	**21,69**	**19,28**	**8,43**	**2.59**	**1**
83	**AUTÓT** mondott / hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**18,07**	**14,46**	**30,12**	**22,89**	**13,25**	**2.98**	**3**

84	**AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**48,19**	**26,51**	**14,46**	**8,43**	**2,41**	**1.89**	**1**
85	**AUTÓT** mondta / hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new CAR.'*	**34,94**	**19,28**	**21,69**	**13,25**	**10,84**	**2.45**	**1**
86	**AUTÓT** hallott hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL '*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**50,60**	**18,07**	**19,28**	**9,64**	**2,41**	**1.93**	**1**
87	**AUTÓT** hallott / hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.ACC heard.3SG.indef that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL '*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**25,30**	**20,48**	**24,10**	**20,48**	**9,64**	**2.67**	**1**
88	**AUTÓNAK** hallotta hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.DAT heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL '*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**54,22**	**22,89**	**18,07**	**2,41**	**2,41**	**1.76**	**1**
89	**AUTÓNAK** hallotta / hogy **újnak** örülnének. car.DAT heard.3SG.def that new.DAT be.pleased.Cond.3PL '*(S)he heard that they would be pleased with a new car.'*	**24,10**	**25,30**	**27,71**	**14,46**	**7,23**	**2.56**	**3**
90	**AUTÓRA** számított hogy **újat** kap. car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.ONTO receive.3SG.indef *'(S)he expected to receive a new car.'*	**19,28**	**18,07**	**31,33**	**21,69**	**9,64**	**2.82**	**3**
91	**AUTÓRA** számított / hogy **újat** kap. car.ONTO counted.3SG.indef that new.ONTO receive.3SG.indef *'(S)he expected to receive a new car.'*	**8,43**	**9,64**	**16,87**	**27,71**	**37,35**	**3.74**	**5**

10.2 APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE 2

10.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Questionnaire 2 made use of the magnitude estimation method. It was filled out by 88 informants at the College of Nyíregyháza on 20-22 December 2011. LSF and LUF were equally represented in questionnaire 2 for two main reasons. First, both constructions, i.e. LSF and LUF had to be tested in the same syntactic contexts to be able to support or disconfirm the hypothesis that they are derived in the same way. Moreover, the test sentences for LUF served as fillers to LSF structures and vice versa. That being said, other types of fillers were also employed.

One goal of questionnaire 2 was to find out whether the empirical evidence for the preliminary analysis (cf. section 7.2.3) can be confirmed with a different method.

Generally speaking, questionnaire 2 tested less types of LSF in less syntactic configurations but with a larger number of test sentences for each. More specifically, two types of LSF were tested (i.e. the 'matrix case' type with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf. (6)) and the 'embedded case' type with the ACC-ACC pattern (cf. (7)) in baseline form (cf. (6) and (7)) and in adjunct island configurations (cf. (8) and (9)). The questionnaire contained four test sentences for each of the four construction types (i.e. (6)-(9)) and each test sentence was presented in context (cf. section 10.2.3).

(6) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(7) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**def** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(8) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'

(9) **AUTÓT** mondta hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**def** that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'

Another difference between questionnaire 1 and questionnaire 2 was that the former used a small number of bridge verbs, unevenly distributed (i.e. in most of the sentences *mond* 'say' was the matrix verb) as it was not among the factors to be tested. Questionnaire 2, on the other hand, used eight bridge verbs (cf. (10)) evenly distributed over the test sentences.

(10)

állít – 'claim'

gondol – 'think'

hall – 'hear'

hisz – ‘believe’

ígér – ‘promise’

mesél – ‘tell’

mond – ‘say’

remél – ‘hope’

The results of questionnaire 2 are discussed in Chapter 7.

Section 10.2.2 gives a brief overview of the magnitude estimation technique and section 10.2.3 shows the questionnaire itself.

10.2.2 METHODOLOGY

10.2.2.1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE METHOD

Magnitude estimation is a technique that was developed in psychophysics. Stevens (1975) provides an in-depth investigation of measuring human response to physical stimulation such as loudness, brightness and tactile stimuli. In a range of magnitude estimation experiments he asked subjects to proportionally judge the magnitude of physical stimuli in terms of numbers, line lengths or on another interval scale. He found that subjects can express the magnitude they perceive for physical stimuli accurately in another modality (e.g. in numbers).

Recently magnitude estimation has been adopted in linguistics for measuring grammaticality judgments by Sorace (1992), Bard et al. (1996), Cowart (1997), and Sorace and Keller (2005), among others. In these experiments subjects have been asked to estimate the perceived grammaticality of a sentence on an interval scale, typically in numbers proportional to the value they assigned to a modulus item (i.e. to a reference sentence). That is, subjects first give an arbitrary number to a modulus item and express the perceived grammaticality of each test sentence compared to that reference sentence. The reference sentence is a structure that is not perfectly grammatical or wildly ungrammatical but contains a minor violation. In my experiment I used the following reference sentence:

(11)	A	tanár	mindenkit	át-engedett	szerencsére	a	vizsgán.[109]
	the	teacher	everyone.ACC	VM.let.Past.3SG	luckily	the	exam.ON

‘The teacher luckily let everybody pass the exam.’

If, for example, an informant assigns the number ‘10’ to the reference sentence, then the value of a test sentence that he/she judges to be twice as grammatical as the reference sentence is 20. As a result, the scores obtained from different informants cannot be compared directly. The raw scores have to be normalized first to be able to compare the results. The normalized, comparable scores are referred to as ‘z-scores’. Scores are normalized in two steps: first the mean ratings and standard deviation are calculated per participant. Then the formula in (12) needs to be applied to each participant.

[109] ’Sentence adverbials, which are generated outside the predicate phrase and are ungrammatical in the operator domain of the predicate, can also occur – somewhat markedly – inside the VP.’ (É. Kiss 2002: 121). In other words, the VP-internal position of the sentence adverbial *szerencsére* ’luckily’ creates a minor violation in (11).

(12)
$$z = \frac{x - \mu}{\sigma}$$

The z-score (i.e. normalized score) of score x is (x- μ)/ σ where μ is the mean of the population and σ is the standard deviation of the population. The calculation of the z-scores per participant sets the mean rating to 0 and the standard deviation to 1 for all participants. This makes the ratings of individual participants comparable.

Crucially, judgments must be provided on an interval scale because this way the numerical data can be subject to relatively advanced statistical analyses. Unlike in psychophysics, however, there is no way to measure the accuracy of the correlation between the perceived linguistic judgments and the values assigned to them. Still, it can be investigated whether linguistic judgments expressed in two different modalities lead to the same result or not. Sorace and Keller (2005) mention such experiments carried out by Bard et al. (1996) and Cowart (1997). Both studies report a strong correlation between responses received for the same linguistic data no matter whether subjects expressed their grammaticality judgments in numbers or in line lengths. The abovementioned authors conclude that magnitude estimation is a suitable method for measuring the perception of linguistic judgments on a continuum of grammaticality in the same way as it is suitable for measuring the magnitude of perceived sensory stimuli on a continuum of directly measurable physical characteristics.

In my experiment I asked my informants to proportionally judge line lengths compared to a reference line (cf. section 10.2.3). If they could do that correctly, I assumed that they could also express grammaticality judgments compared to a reference sentence. They had to rate the sentences in numerical values. Out of my 88 informants 10 were excluded because they did not assess the line lengths correctly. Questionnaire 2 had four versions (cf. 10.2.2.2). On average 17 to 22 people filled out a version of questionnaire 2 without being excluded for the incorrect assessment of line lengths. To avoid the potential influence of the ordering of test sentences, for each version an equal number of informants could be taken into consideration. In my survey the answers of 17 informants were analyzed and the possible exceeding number of informants were randomly excluded for each version. As a result, 10 informants were randomly excluded to have an equal number of questionnaires per version. This gives a total number of 68 questionnaires that were processed.

10.2.2.2 THE DESIGN OF QUESTIONNAIRE 2

As usual in magnitude estimation testing, questionnaire 2 tested the influence of a small number of factors by several, in this case four, test sentences (i.e. lexical variants). For example, examples (13) and (14) are two lexical variants of the same construction type (i.e. baseline mLSF).

(13) **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
car.ACC said.3SG.**indef** that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef
'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'

(14) **CSOKIT** ígért hogy **finomat** hoz.
chocolate.ACC promised.3SG.**indef** that delicious.ACC bring.3SG.indef
'She promised that she would bring (a) delicious CHOCOLATE (bar).'

Table 1 and table 2 are an outline of how questionnaire 2 was designed to test LSF and LUF structures, respectively. In table 1 the different letters stand for different lexical variants, leading to 16 different test sentences for LSF. The second column shows the distribution of the eight bridge verbs that were used in the test sentences. As the number of test sentences for LSF was 16, each of the 8 bridge verbs was used twice. Columns 3-6 show the distribution of the four LSF construction types (i.e. baseline 'matrix case', baseline 'embedded case', adjunct island 'matrix case', adjunct island 'embedded case') in the four versions of the questionnaires.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">LSF</th></tr>
<tr><th>Lexical variant</th><th>Bridge verb</th><th>Questionnaire version 1</th><th>Questionnaire version 2</th><th>Questionnaire version 3</th><th>Questionnaire version 4</th></tr>
<tr><td>A</td><td rowspan="4">1
2
3
4</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'embedded case'</td></tr>
<tr><td>B</td></tr>
<tr><td>C</td></tr>
<tr><td>D</td></tr>
<tr><td>E</td><td rowspan="4">5
6
7
8</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'matrix case'</td></tr>
<tr><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>G</td></tr>
<tr><td>H</td></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td rowspan="4">1
2
3
4</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'matrix case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'embedded case'</td></tr>
<tr><td>J</td></tr>
<tr><td>K</td></tr>
<tr><td>L</td></tr>
<tr><td>M</td><td rowspan="4">5
6
7
8</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Adjunct island 'embedded case'</td><td rowspan="4">Baseline 'matrix case'</td></tr>
<tr><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>O</td></tr>
<tr><td>P</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1. Design of the 4 versions of questionnaire 2, LSF

As the table shows, the four versions of questionnaire 2 differ in the lexical variants (including the choice of the bridge verb) that were used to test a given construction type. This way a lexical variant that is found awkward (for whatever reason) by the informants can be spotted and it will not interfere with the actual factors tested.

Table 2 shows the outline of the structure of questionnaire 2 for LUF constructions. This structure is exactly the same as that of the relevant questionnaire section for LSF. As the letters for the lexical variants indicate, the lexical items for LSF and LUF were all different and as the numbers referring to the bridge verbs show, the same eight bridge verbs were used in the test sentences for LSF and LUF.

The reason why the lexical variants were different in LSF and LUF is that this way the influence of familiarity with the lexical variant could be avoided.

LUF					
Lexical variant	**Bridge verb**	**Questionnaire version 1**	**Questionnaire version 2**	**Questionnaire version 3**	**Questionnaire version 4**
Q	1	Baseline ’matrix case’	Baseline ‘embedded case’	Adjunct island ’matrix case’	Adjunct island ‘embedded case’
R	2				
S	3				
SZ	4				
T	5	Adjunct island ’matrix case’	Baseline ’matrix case’	Baseline ‘embedded case’	Adjunct island ’matrix case’
TY	6				
U	7				
Ú	8				
Ü	1	Adjunct island ‘embedded case’	Adjunct island ’matrix case’	Baseline ’matrix case’	Baseline ‘embedded case’
Ű	2				
V	3				
W	4				
X	5	Baseline ‘embedded case’	Adjunct island ‘embedded case’	Adjunct island ‘embedded case’	Baseline ’matrix case’
Y	6				
Z	7				
ZS	8				

Table 2. Design of the 4 versions of questionnaire 2, LUF

The questionnaire, apart from the six warm-up sentences that were used to familiarize informants with the method and which were not taken into further account, also contained four ‘good fillers’ and four ‘bad fillers’. The ‘good fillers’ were monoclausal possessor extraction structures. The ‘bad fillers’ were expletive-associate constructions containing an object agreement violation between the expletive and the matrix verb.[110] The LSF and LUF sentences and the grammatical and ungrammatical fillers were presented in four random orders in the four versions.

10.2.3 QUESTIONNAIRE 2

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TEST

Date of birth: .....

Place of birth: .....

Sex: female/male

Handedness: right-handed/left-handed

Place of residence: .....

Known foreign language(s): .....

GUIDELINES TO FILL OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire investigates the acceptability of certain spoken language structures based on the intuitions of native speakers of Hungarian.

[110] The scores of the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ fillers were taken into account in the calculation of the z-scores. For reasons not clear to me the ‘bad’ fillers received better averages than the LSF and LUF constructions.

The test starts out with a few minutes' practice (section 1). In this part informants are asked to estimate the length of a number of lines compared to a reference line.

Section 2 is a warm-up phase, too. Here informants are asked to judge the acceptability of some spoken language structures, compared to a reference sentence.

Section 3 is the main section of the questionnaire that is going to be analyzed. This section aimes at investigating the acceptability of 46 sentences in spoken language context. The acceptability of these sentences is compared to reference sentence.

Each of the questionnaire sections starts out woth an example and instructions to be strictly followed.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Section 1

In this section you will see lines of different lengths. Your task is to estimate the length of the lines compared to a given (reference) line. To complete the task, you should follow the steps below:

a., Write a value (an arbitrary number) next to the reference line.
b. Write a number next to the rest of the lines that is proportional to the value of the reference line.

Example: If this is the reference line and you arbitrarily assign the number 100 to it ...

then you should give a number of around 200 to the next line as this one is about twice as long as the reference line...

and about 25 to the next line as this one is about one fourth of the length of the reference line

If, however, you gave the number 40 to the reference line, then the value assigned to the second line should be around 80 and that assigned to the third one around 10. Your main task is to recognize the approximate proportion of the lines compared to the value of the reference line.

Exercises:

1. This is the reference line. Assign a numerical value to it and write it in the box.

Compared to the reference line, estimate the length of the following lines and write the estimated value in the box.

2.

3.

4.

Section 2

In this section you will judge the acceptability of sentences in spoken language contexts, based on the same principle you used to estimate the length of the lines in the previous section. Compared to a reference sentence, estimate the acceptability of the rest of the sentences. To complete the task, you should follow the steps below:

a. Give a numerical value to the reference sentence and write it in the box.

b. Compared to the value of the reference sentence, judge the acceptability of the rest of the sentences.

Example:

If this is the reference sentence and you assign the number 100 to it ...

(1) A Péter és a te diákjaid minden feladatot megoldottak.
The Peter.(NOM) and the you students.Poss.2SG each exercise.ACC PV.solved.3PL
'Peter's and your students have solved each exercise'.

Then you might assign the number 200 to the following sentence provided you find it about twice as acceptable as the reference sentence.

(2) Az ő diákjai minden feladatot megoldottak.
The he/she students.Poss.3SG each exercise.ACC PV.solved.3PL
'His/her students have solved each exercise.'

To the following sentence you might assign 50, provided that you find it half as acceptable as the reference sentence.

(3) Az ő és a te diákjaid minden feladatot megoldottak.
The he/she and the you students.Poss.2SG each exercise.ACC PV.solved.3PL
'His/her and your students have solved each exercise.'

Summary of the main points:

- You can give the reference sentence any positive numerical value (except for zero).
- Compare each sentence to the reference sentence and assign them a value relative to the value of the reference sentence. Give positive numbers only (but not zero).
- Give a proportionally bigger number to sentences you find more acceptable and a proportionally lower number to sentences you find less acceptable.
- Don't think about the acceptability of a sentence too long, trust your first impression.

- There is no ‘good answer’ or ‘bad answer’. We are interested in the intuitions of native speakers.

Exercises :

This is the reference sentence. Assign an arbitrary number to it.

(1) Ezt a Zsuzsa barátját ismerem valahonnan.
This the Sue.(NOM) friend.Poss.3SG.ACC know.1SG somewhere.FROM
‘I know this friend of Sue from somewhere.’

Compared to the value of the reference sentence write a number reflecting the acceptability of the following sentences in the box.

(2) A lánynak ezt a barátját ismerem valahonnan.
The girl.DAT this.ACC the friend.POSS.3SG.ACC know.1SG somewhere.FROM
‘I know this friend of the girl from somewhere.’

(3) Ennek a lánynak a barátját ismerem valahonnan.
This.DAT the girl.DAT the friend.Poss.3SG.ACC know.1SG somewhere.FROM
‘I know this girl’s friend from somewhere.’

(4) Ez a lány barátját ismerem valahonnan.
This.NOM the girl friend.Poss.3SG.ACC know.1SG somewhere.FROM
INTENDED : *‘I know this girl’s friend from somewhere.’*

Section 3

Acceptability judgment of spoken language sentences

Main points to remember for this section:

- You can give the reference sentence any positive numerical value (except for zero)
- Compare each sentence to the reference sentence and assign them a value relative to the value of the reference sentence. Give positive numbers only (but not zero).
- Give a proportionally bigger number to sentences you find more acceptable and a proportionally lower number to sentences you find less acceptable.
- Don’t think about the acceptability of a sentence too long, trust your first impression.
- There is no ‘good answer’ and ‘bad answer’. We are interested in the intuitions of native speakers.
- As the questionnaire investigates spoken language sentences, the lack of commas does not influence the acceptability of the sentences. For example, this sentence

Azt	mondta	hogy	hoz	két	üveg	kólát.
Expl.ACC	said.3SG.def	that	bring.3SG	two	bottle	coke.ACC

'(S)he said that (s)he was going to bring us two bottles of coke.'

is as acceptable as this one:

Azt	mondta,	hogy	hoz	két	üveg	kólát.
Expl.ACC	said.3SG.def	that	bring.3SG	two	bottle	coke.ACC

'(S)he said that (s)he was going to bring us two bottles of coke.'

- Words IN CAPITALS are pronounced with a strong stress like in this sentence:

Csak	PÉTERT	nem	hívták	meg.
Only	Peter.ACC	not	invited.3PL	PV

'Only Peter hasn't been invited.'

- In examples that contain 2 sentences (i.e. a dialogue between speaker 'A' and speaker 'B'), you should always judge the acceptability of ONLY SENTENCE 'B'.

Reference sentence

1. | A | tanár | mindenkit | át.engedett | szerencsére | a | vizsgán. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The | teacher | everyone.ACC | VM.let.Past.3Sg | luckily | the | exam.ON |

'The teacher luckily let everybody pass the exam.'

Warm-up sentences

2. | Azt | mondta | hogy | új | kabátot | vett. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Expl.ACC | said.3Sg.Def. | that | new | coat.ACC | bought.3Sg.Indef. |

'(S)he said that (s)he had bought a new coat.'

3. | TEGNAP | mondta | hogy | új | kabátot | vett. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yesterday | said.3Sg.Def. | that | new | coat.ACC | bought.3Sg.Indef. |

'He said that he bought a new coat YESTERDAY.'

4. | Új | KABÁTOT | mondta | hogy | vett. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New | coat.ACC | said.3Sg.Def. | that | bought.3Sg.Indef. |

'He said that he had bought a new COAT.'

5. | Új | KABÁTOT | mondott | hogy | vett. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New | coat.ACC | said.3Sg.Def. | that | bought.3Sg.Indef. |

'He said that he had bought a new COAT.'

6. | Új | KABÁTOT | suttogott | hogy | vett. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New | coat.ACC | whispered | that | bought.3Sg.Indef. |

'He whispered that he had bought a new COAT.'

Good fillers (possessor extraction)

7. | PÉTERNEK | veszett | el | a | könyve. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Peter.DAT. | lose.3Sg. | VM | the | book.3Sg.Poss. |

'PETER's book was lost.'

8. | LAJOSNAK | fényképezték | le | a | fiát. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lajos.DAT | took.a.photo.3Pl. | VM | the | son.3Sg.Poss.ACC |

'They took a photo of LAJOS's son.'

9. CSILLÁNAK kérték el az igazolványát.
   Csilla.DAT asked.3Pl.Def. VM the ID.card.Poss.3Sg.ACC
   'They asked for CSILLA's identitiy card.'

10. SÁRINAK lopták el a pénzét.
    Sári.DAT stole.3Pl.Def. VM the money.Poss.3Sg.ACC
    'SÁRI's money was stolen.'

Bad fillers (object agreement violation)

11. Azt magyarázott, hogy a postára indul.
    Expl.ACC explained.3Sg.Indef. that the post.ONTO leave.3Sg.
    INTENDED: *'He explained that he was going to the post office.'*

12. Azt suttogott, hogy moziba készül.
    Expl.ACC whispered.3Sg.Indef. that cinema.INTO prepare.3Sg.
    INTENDED: *'He whispered that he was going to the cinema.'*

13. Azt fejtegetett, hogy Londonba utazik.
    Expl.ACC elaborated.on.3Sg.Indef. that London.into travel.3Sg.
    INTENDED: *'He explained that he was going to London.'*

14. Azt hazudott, hogy dolgozni ment.
    Expl.ACC lie.Past.3Sg.Indef. that work.Inf. went.3Sg.
    INTENDED: *'He lied that he had gone to work.'*

Constant phrases in the lexical variants

Number	Constant phrase
LSF/1	új autót vett new car.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'he has bought a new car'*
LSF/2	nagy pontyot fogtak big carp.ACC caught.3PL.indef *'they have caught a big carp'*
LSF/3	finom csokit hoz delicious chocolate.ACC bring.3SG.indef *'(s)he (will) bring a delicious chocolate (bar)'*
LSF/4	hideg vizet kap cold water.ACC get.3SG.indef *'(s)he (will) get (a glass of) cold water'*
LSF/5	ronda házat bonott ugly house.ACC demolished.3SG.indef *'(s)he was demolishing an ugly house'*
LSF/6	jó kacsát sütött good duck.ACC baked.3SG.indef *'(s)he was baking a good duck'*
LSF/7	

	kék sapkát kötött blue cap.ACC knitted.3SG.indef *'(s)he was knitting a blue cap'*
LSF/8	nagy babot vetnek big bean.ACC sow.3PL.indef *'they are sowing big beans'*
LSF/9	zöld békát talált green frog.ACC found.3SG.indef *'(s)he has found a green frog'*
LSF/10	piros rózsát kérnek red rose.ACC ask.3PL.indef *'they are asking for red roses'*
LSF/11	olcsó diót ad cheap walnut.ACC give.3SG *'(s)he (will) give us cheap walnuts'*
LSF/12	sánta varjút látott lame crow.ACC saw.3SG.indef *'(s)he has seen a lame crow'*
LSF/13	forró májat evett hot liver.ACC ate.3SG.indef *'(s)he has eaten hot liver'*
LSF/14	friss bodzát szedett fresh elderflower.ACC picked.3SG.indef *'(s)he was picking fresh elderflowers'*
LSF/15	erős drótot gyártottak strong wire.ACC produced.3PL.indef *'they were producing strong wires'*
LSF/16	fehér szoknyát varrunk neki white skirt.ACC sew.1PL.indef DAT.3SG *'we (will) sew a white skirt for her'*

Table 3. Constant phrases in the lexical variants of LSF in questionnaire 2

	LSF
	Construction type: BASELINE mLSF
	Lexical variant
LSF/1	A: - Azt mondta Béla, hogy vett egy új házat. *'Béla said that he had bought a new house.'* B: - **AUTÓT** mondott hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.indef that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'*
LSF/2	A: - Azt hallotta Pista, hogy Laciék fogtak egy nagy harcsát. *'Pista heard that Laci (and company) had caught a big catfish.'* B: - **PONTYOT** hallott hogy **nagyot** fogtak. carp.ACC heard.3SG.indef that big.ACC caught.3PL.indef *'He heard that they had caught a big CARP.'*
LSF/3	A: - Azt ígérte Mari, hogy hoz egy finom tortát. *'Mary promised that she would bring a delicious cake.'* B: - **CSOKIT** ígért hogy **finomat** hoz. chocolate.ACC promised.3SG.indef that delicious.ACC bring.3SG.indef *'She promised that she would bring (a) delicious CHOCOLATE (bar).'*
LSF/4	A: - Azt hitte Robi, hogy kap egy hideg vodkát. *'Robi believed that he would get (a glass of) cold vodka.'* B: - **VIZET** hitt hogy **hideget** kap. water.ACC believed.3SG.indef that cold.ACC get.3SG.indef *'He believed that he would get (a glass of) cold WATER.'*
LSF/5	A: - Azt állította Józsi, hogy egy ronda garázst bontott. *'Józsi claimed that he had been demolishing an ugly garage.'* B: - **HÁZAT** állított hogy **rondát** bontott. house.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that ugly.ACC demolished.3SG.indef *'He claimed that he had been demolishing an ugly HOUSE.'*
LSF/6	A: - Azt gondolta Dóra, hogy jó csirkét sütött. *'Dóra thought that she had baked a good chicken.'* B: - **KACSÁT** gondolt hogy **jót** sütött. duck.ACC thought.3SG.indef that good.ACC baked.3SG.indef *'She thought that she had baked a good DUCK.'*
LSF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Barbi, hogy kötött egy kék sálat. *'Barbi said she had been knitting a blue scarf.'* B: - **SAPKÁT** mesélt hogy **kéket** kötött. cap.ACC said.3SG.indef that blue.ACC knitted.3SG.indef *'She said that she had been knitting a blue CAP.'*
LSF/8	A: - Azt remélte Anna, hogy nagy borsót vetnek. *'Anna hoped that they would be sowing big peas.'* B: - **BABOT** remélt hogy **nagyot** vetnek. beans.ACC hoped.3SG.indef that big.ACC sow.3PL.indef *'Anna has hoped that they would be sowing big BEANS.'*
LSF/9	A: - Azt mondta Bandi, hogy talált egy zöld gyíkot. *'Bandi said that he had found a green lizard.'*

	B: - **BÉKÁT** mondott hogy **zöldet** talált. frog.ACC said.3SG.indef that green.ACC found.3SG.indef *'He said that he had found a green FROG.'*
LSF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Bence, hogy a lányok hogy piros szegfűt kérnek. *'Bence heard that the girls were asking for red carnations.'* B: - **RÓZSÁT** hallott hogy **pirosat** kérnek. rose.ACC heard.3SG.indef that red.ACC ask.3PL.indef *'He heard that they were asking for red ROSES.'*
LSF/11	A: - Erzsi néni azt ígérte, hogy olcsó mogyorót ad. *'Aunt Erzsi promised that she would give us cheap hazelnuts.'* B: **DIÓT** ígért hogy **olcsót** ad. walnut.ACC promised.3SG.indef that cheap.ACC give.3SG.indef *'She promised that she would give us cheap WALNUTS.'*
LSF/12	A: - Azt hitte Peti, hogy egy sánta sast látott. *'Peti believed that he had seen a lame eagle.'* B: - **VARJÚT** hitt hogy **sántát** látott. crow.ACC believed.3SG.indef that lame.ACC saw.3SG.indef *'He believed that he had seen a lame CROW.'*
LSF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Bori, hogy forró húst eszik. *'Bori thought that she was eating hot meat.'* B: - **MÁJAT** gondolt hogy **forrót** eszik. liver.ACC thought.3SG.indef that hot.ACC eat.3SG.indef *'She thought that she was eating hot LIVER.'*
LSF/14	A: - Azt állította Kriszti, hogy friss hársat szedett. *'Kriszti claimed that the she had picked fresh linden.'* B: - **BODZÁT** állított hogy **frisset** szedett. elderflower.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that fresh.ACC collected.3SG.indef *'She claimed that she had picked fresh ELDERFLOWERS.'*
LSF/15	A: - Azt mesélte Gábor, hogy erős vaslemezt gyártanak. *'Gábor said that they produced strong iron sheets.'* B: - **DRÓTOT** mesélt hogy **erőset** gyártanak. wire.ACC said.3SG.indef that strong.ACC produce.3PL.indef *'He said that they produced strong WIRES.'*
LSF/16	A: - Azt reméli Blanka, hogy fehér kabátot varrunk neki. *'Blanka hopes that we are sewing a white coat for her.'* B: - **SZOKNYÁT** remél hogy **fehéret** varrunk neki. skirt.ACC hope.3SG.indef that white.ACC sew.1PL Dat.3SG *'She hopes that we are sewing a white SKIRT for her.'*

	LSF
	Construction type: BASELINE eLSF
	Lexical variant
LSF/9	A: - Azt mondta Bandi, hogy talált egy zöld gyíkot. *'Bandi said that he had found a green lizard.'* B: - **BÉKÁT** mondta hogy **zöldet** talált. frog.ACC said.3SG.def that green.ACC found.3SG.indef *'He said that he had found a green FROG.'*
LSF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Bence, hogy a lányok hogy piros szegfűt kérnek. *'Bence heard that the girls were asking for red carnations.'* B: - **RÓZSÁT** hallotta hogy **pirosat** kérnek. rose.ACC heard.3SG.def that red.ACC ask.3PL.indef *'He heard that they were asking for red ROSES.'*
LSF/11	A: - Erzsi néni azt ígérte, hogy olcsó mogyorót ad. *'Aunt Erzsi promised that she would give us cheap hazelnuts.'* B: **DIÓT** ígérte hogy **olcsót** ad. walnut.ACC promised.3SG.def that cheap.ACC give.3SG.indef *'She promised that she would give us cheap WALNUTS.'*
LSF/12	A: - Azt hitte Peti, hogy egy sánta sast látott. *'Peti believed that he had seen a lame eagle.'* B: - **VARJÚT** hitte hogy **sántát** látott. crow.ACC believed.3SG.def that lame.ACC saw.3SG.indef *'He believed that he had seen a lame CROW.'*
LSF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Bori, hogy forró húst eszik. *'Bori thought that she was eating hot meat.'* B: - **MÁJAT** gondolta hogy **forrót** eszik. liver.ACC thought.3SG.def that hot.ACC eat.3SG.indef *'She thought that she was eating hot LIVER.'*
LSF/14	A: - Azt állította Kriszti, hogy friss hársat szedett. *'Kriszti claimed that the she had picked fresh linden.'* B: - **BODZÁT** állította hogy **frisset** szedett. elderflower.ACC claimed.3SG.def that fresh.ACC collected.3SG.indef *'She claimed that she had picked fresh ELDERFLOWERS.'*
LSF/15	A: - Azt mesélte Gábor, hogy erős vaslemezt gyártanak. *'Gábor said that they produced strong iron sheets.'* B: - **DRÓTOT** mesélte hogy **erőset** gyártanak. wire.ACC said.3SG.def that strong.ACC produce.3PL.indef *'He said that they produced strong WIRES.'*
LSF/16	A: - Azt reméli Blanka, hogy fehér kabátot varrunk neki. *'Blanka hopes that we are sewing a white coat for her.'* B: - **SZOKNYÁT** reméli hogy **fehéret** varrunk neki. skirt.ACC hope.3SG.def that white.ACC sew.1PL Dat.3SG *'She hopes that we are sewing a white SKIRT for her.'*
LSF/1	

	A: - Azt mondta Béla, hogy vett egy új házat. *'Béla said that he had bought a new house.'* B: - **AUTÓT** mondta hogy **újat** vett. car.ACC said.3SG.def that new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'He said that he had bought a new CAR.'*
LSF/2	A: - Azt hallotta Pista, hogy Laciék fogtak egy nagy harcsát. *'Pista heard that Laci's had caught a big catfish.'* B: - **PONTYOT** hallotta hogy **nagyot** fogtak. carp.ACC heard.3SG.def that big.ACC caught.3PL.indef *'He heard that they had caught a big CARP.'*
LSF/3	A: - Azt ígérte Mari, hogy hoz egy finom tortát. *'Mary promised that she would bring a delicious cake.'* B: - **CSOKIT** ígérte hogy **finomat** hoz. chocolate.ACC promised.3SG.def that delicious.ACC bring.3SG.indef *'She promised that she would bring (a) delicious CHOCOLATE (bar).'*
LSF/4	A: - Azt hitte Robi, hogy kap egy hideg vodkát. *'Robi believed that he would get (a glass of) cold vodka.'* B: - **VIZET** hitte hogy **hideget** kap. water.ACC believed.3SG.def that cold.ACC get.3SG.indef *'He believed that he would get (a glass of) cold WATER.'*
LSF/5	A: - Azt állította Józsi, hogy egy ronda garázst bontott. *'Józsi claimed that he had been demolishing an ugly garage.'* B: - **HÁZAT** állította hogy **rondát** bontott. house.ACC claimed.3SG.def that ugly.ACC demolished.3SG.indef *'He claimed that he had been demolishing an ugly HOUSE.'*
LSF/6	A: - Azt gondolta Dóra, hogy jó csirkét sütött. *'Dóra thought that she had baked a good chicken.'* B: - **KACSÁT** gondolta hogy **jót** sütött. duck.ACC thought.3SG.def that good.ACC baked.3SG.indef *'She thought that she had baked a good DUCK.'*
LSF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Barbi, hogy kötött egy kék sálat. *'Barbi said she had been knitting a blue scarf.'* B: - **SAPKÁT** mesélte hogy **kéket** kötött. cap.ACC said.3SG.def that blue.ACC knitted.3SG.indef *'She said that she had been knitting a blue CAP.'*
LSF/8	A: - Azt remélte Anna, hogy nagy borsót vetnek. *'Anna hoped that they would be sowing big peas.'* B: - **BABOT** remélte hogy **nagyot** vetnek. beans.ACC hoped.3SG.def that big.ACC sow.3PL.indef *'Anna has hoped that they would be sowing big BEANS.'*

	LSF
	Construction type: ADJUNCT ISLAND mLSF
	Lexical variant
LSF/16	A: - Azt reméli Gizi, hogy még senki nem érkezik meg, mikor fehér kalapot varrunk neki. *'Gizi hopes that nobody arrives when we are sewing a white hat for her.'* B: - **SZOKNYÁT** remél hogy még senki nem érkezik meg skirt.ACC hope.3SG.indef that yet nobody not arrive.3SG PV mikor **fehéret** varrunk neki. when white.ACC sew.1PL Dat.3SG *'She hopes that nobody arrives when we are sewing a white SKIRT for her.'*
LSF/14	A: - Azt állította Éva, hogy még ki sem tavaszodott, mikor friss hársat szedett. *'Eve claimed that the spring hadn't even set in when she picked fresh linden.'* B: - **BODZÁT** állított hogy még ki sem tavaszodott elderflower.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that even PV not spring.refl.3SG mikor **frisset** szedett. when fresh.ACC collected.3SG.indef *'She claimed that the spring hadn't even set in when she picked fresh ELDERFLOWERS.'*
LSF/13	A: - Pista azt gondolta, hogy már mindenki lefeküdt aludni, mikor forró húst evett. *'Pista thought that everyone had already gone to bed when he ate hot meat.'* B: - **MÁJAT** gondolt hogy már mindenki lefeküdt . liver.ACC thought.3SG.indef that already everyone PV.lay.3SG aludni, mikor **forrót** evett. sleep.Inf when hot.ACC ate.3SG.indef *'He thought that everyone had gone to bed already when he ate hot LIVER.'*
LSF/15	A: - Azt mesélte Csaba, hogy még senki nem írta alá a szerződést, mikor erős vaslemezt gyártottak. *'Csaba said that nobody had signed the contract when they were producing strong iron sheets.'* B: - **DRÓTOT** mesélt hogy még senki nem írta wire.ACC said.3SG.indef that yet nobody not signed.3SG.def alá a szerződést mikor **erőset** gyártottak. PV the contract.ACC when strong.ACC produced3PL.indef *'He said that nobody had signed the contract when they were producing strong WIRES.'*
LSF/9	A: - Azt mondta Tibi, hogy még nem kelt fel a nap, mikor talált egy zöld gyíkot. *'Tibi said that the sun hadn't risen when he found a green lizard.'* B: - **BÉKÁT** mondott hogy még nem kelt fel a nap mikor **zöldet** talált. frog.ACC said.3SG.indef that yet not rose PV the sun when green.ACC found.3SG.indef *'He said that the sun hadn't risen when he found a green FROG.'*
LSF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Feri, hogy már leesett a hó, mikor a lányok piros szegfűt kértek. *'Feri heard that it had started snowing when the girls asked for red carnations.'* B: - **RÓZSÁT** hallott hogy már leesett a hó mikor rose.ACC heard.3SG.indef that already PV.fell.3SG the show when **pirosat** kértek.

	red.ACC asked.3PL.indef *'He heard that it had started snowing when they asked for red ROSES.'*
LSF/11	A: - Erzsi néni azt ígérte, hogy még véget sem ér a tél, mikor olcsó mogyorót ad. *'Aunt Erzsi promised that the winter wouldn't have ended when she would give us cheap hazelnuts.'* B: **DIÓT** ígért hogy még véget sem ér a tél walnut.ACC promised.3SG.indef that yet end.ACC not.even reach.3SG the winter mikor **olcsót** ad. when cheap.ACC give.3SG.indef *'She promised that the winter wouldn't have ended when she would give us cheap WALNUTS.'*
LSF/12	A: - Misi azt hitte, hogy már véget ért a vihar, mikor látott egy sánta sast. *'Misi believed that the storm had ended when he saw a lame eagle.'* B: - **VARJÚT** hitt hogy már véget ért a vihar mikor crow.ACC believed.3SG.indef that already end.ACC reached.3SG the storm when **sántát** látott. lame.ACC saw.3SG.indef *'He believed that the storm had ended when he saw a lame CROW.'*
LSF/5	A: - Azt állította Józsi, hogy már megkezdődött az építkezés, mikor egy ronda garázst bontott. *'Józsi claimed that the construction had already begun when he was demolishing an ugly garage.'* B: - **HÁZAT** állított hogy már megkezdődött az építkezés mikor **rondát** bontott. house.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that already PV.began.3SG the construction when ugly.ACC demolished.3SG.indef *'He claimed that the construction had already begun when he was demolishing an ugly HOUSE.'*
LSF/6	A: - Azt gondolta Dóra, hogy már lefeküdtek a gyerekek mikor egy jó csirkét sütött. *'Dóra thought that the children had already gone to bed when she was baking a good chicken.'* B: - **KACSÁT** gondolt hogy már lefeküdtek a gyerekek duck.ACC thought.3SG.indef that already PV.lay.3PL the children mikor **jót** sütött. when good.ACC baked.3SG.indef *'She thought that the children had already gone to bed when she was baking a good DUCK.'*
LSF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Barbi, hogy már mindenki rég elment otthonról, mikor kötött egy kék sálat. *'Barbi said that everyone had left home long before she was knitting a blue scarf.'* B: - **SAPKÁT** mesélt hogy már mindenki rég elment cap.ACC said.3SG.indef that already everyone long PV.left.3SG otthonról mikor **kéket** kötött. home.FROM when blue.ACC knitted.3SG.indef

	'She said that everyone had left home long before she was knitting a blue CAP.'
LSF/8	A: - Azt remélte Anna, hogy már iskolában lesznek a gyerekek, mikor nagy borsót vetnek. *'Anna has hoped that the children will be at school when they are sowing big peas.'* B: - **BABOT** remélt hogy már iskolában lesznek a gyerekek beans.ACC hoped.3SG.indef that already school.IN will.be.3PL the children mikor **nagyot** vetnek. when big.ACC sow.3PL *'Anna has hoped that the children will be at school when they are sowing big BEANS.'*
LSF/1	A: - Azt mondta Roland, hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon, mikor vett egy új motort. *'Roland said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new motorbike.'* B: - **AUTÓT** mondott hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor car.ACC said.3SG.indef that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when **újat** vett. new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'*
LSF/2	A: - Dani azt hallotta, hogy már mindenki összepakolt, mikor Laciék fogtak egy nagy harcsát. *'Dani heard that everyone had already packed their luggage when Laci's caught a big catfish.'* B: - **PONTYOT** hallott hogy már mindenki összepakolt mikor carp.ACC heard.3SG.indef that already everyone PV.packed.3SG when **nagyot** fogtak. big.ACC caught.3PL.indef *'He heard that everyone had already packed their luggage when they caught a big CARP.'*
LSF/3	A: - Azt ígérte Norbi, hogy még vége sem lesz a fogadásnak, mikor hoz egy finom tortát. *'Mary has promised that the reception won't even have ended when she would bring a delicious cake.'* B: - **CSOKIT** ígért hogy még vége sem lesz a fogadásnak chocolate.ACC promised.3SG.indef that yet end not.even will.be.3SG the reception.DAT mikor **finomat** hoz. when delicious.ACC bring.3SG.indef *'She promised that the reception won't even have ended when she would bring (a) delicious CHOCOLATE (bar).'*
LSF/4	A: - Azt hitte Dénes, hogy még el sem kezdődik a vacsora, mikor kap egy hideg vodkát. *'Dénes has believed that the dinner won't have started when he receives (a glass of) cold vodka.'*

	B: - **VIZET** hitt hogy még el sem kezdődik a vacsora mikor water.ACC believed.3SG.indef that yet PV not.even start.3SG the dinner when **hideget** kap. cold.ACC get.3SG.indef *'He believed that the dinner won't have started when he receives (a glass of) cold WATER.'*

	LSF
	Construction type: ADJUNCT ISLAND eLSF
	Lexical variant
LSF/5	A: - Azt állította Józsi, hogy már megkezdődött az építkezés, mikor egy ronda garázst bontott. *'Józsi claimed that the construction had already begun when he was demolishing an ugly garage.'* B: - **HÁZAT** állította hogy már megkezdődött az építkezés mikor **rondát** house.ACC claimed.3SG.def that already PV.began.3SG the construction when ugly.ACC bontott. demolished.3SG.indef *'He claimed that the construction had already begun when he was demolishing an ugly HOUSE.'*
LSF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Barbi, hogy már mindenki rég elment otthonról, mikor kötött egy kék sálat. *'Barbi said that everyone had left home long before she was knitting a blue scarf.'* B: - **SAPKÁT** mesélte hogy már mindenki rég elment cap.ACC said.3SG.def that already everyone long PV.left.3SG otthonról mikor **kéket** kötött. home.FROM when blue.ACC knitted.3SG.indef *'She said that everyone had left home long before she was knitting a blue CAP.'*
LSF/8	A: - Azt remélte Anna, hogy már iskolában lesznek a gyerekek, mikor nagy borsót vetnek. *'Anna has hoped that the children will be at school when they are sowing big peas.'* B: - **BABOT** remélte hogy már iskolában lesznek a gyerekek beans.ACC hoped.3SG.def that already school.IN will.be.3PL the children mikor **nagyot** vetnek. when big.ACC sow.3PL *'Anna has hoped that the children will be at school when they are sowing big BEANS.'*
LSF/6	A: - Azt gondolta Dóra, hogy már lefeküdtek a gyerekek mikor egy jó csirkét sütött. *'Dóra thought that the children had already gone to bed when she was baking a good chicken.'* B: - **KACSÁT** gondolta hogy már lefeküdtek a gyerekek duck.ACC thought.3SG.def that already PV.lay.3PL the children mikor **jót** sütött. when good.ACC baked.3SG.indef

	'She thought that the children had already gone to bed when she was baking a good DUCK.'
LSF/1	A: - Azt mondta Roland, hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon, mikor vett egy új motort. *'Roland said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new motorbike.'* B: - **AUTÓT** mondta hogy már majdnem bezárt a szalon mikor car.ACC said.3SG.def that already almost closed.3SG the saloon when **újat** vett. new.ACC bought.3SG.indef *'He said that the saloon had almost closed when he bought a new CAR.'*
LSF/2	A: - Dani azt hallotta, hogy már mindenki összepakolt, mikor Laciék fogtak egy nagy harcsát. *'Dani heard that everyone had already packed their luggage when Laci's caught a big catfish.'* B: - **PONTYOT** hallotta hogy már mindenki összepakolt mikor carp.ACC heard.3SG.def that already everyone PV.packed.3SG when **nagyot** fogtak. big.ACC caught.3PL.indef *'He heard that everyone had already packed their luggage when they caught a big CARP.'*
LSF/3	A: - Azt ígérte Norbi, hogy még vége sem lesz a fogadásnak, mikor hoz egy finom tortát. *'Mary has promised that the reception won't even have ended when she would bring a delicious cake.'* B: - **CSOKIT** ígérte hogy még vége sem lesz a fogadásnak chocolate.ACC promised.3SG.def that yet end not.even will.be.3SG the reception.DAT mikor **finomat** hoz. when delicious.ACC bring.3SG.indef *'She promised that the reception won't even have ended when she would bring (a) delicious CHOCOLATE (bar).'*
LSF/4	A: - Azt hitte Dénes, hogy még el sem kezdődik a vacsora, mikor kap egy hideg vodkát. *'Dénes has believed that the dinner won't have started when he receives (a glass of) cold vodka.'* B: - **VIZET** hitte hogy még el sem kezdődik a vacsora mikor water.ACC believed.3SG.def that yet PV not.even start.3SG the dinner when **hideget** kap. cold.ACC get.3SG.indef *'He believed that the dinner won't have started when he receives (a glass of) cold WATER.'*
LSF/13	A: - Pista azt gondolta, hogy már mindenki lefeküdt aludni, mikor forró húst evett. *'Pista thought that everyone had already gone to bed when he ate hot meat.'*

	B: - **MÁJAT** gondolta hogy már mindenki lefeküdt . liver.ACC thought.3SG.def that already everyone PV.lay.3SG aludni, mikor **forrót** evett. sleep.Inf when hot.ACC ate.3SG.indef *'He thought that everyone had gone to bed already when he ate hot LIVER.'*
LSF/14	A: - Azt állította Éva, hogy még ki sem tavaszodott, mikor friss hársat szedett. *'Eve claimed that the spring hadn't even set in when she picked fresh linden.'* B: - **BODZÁT** állította hogy még ki sem tavaszodott elderflower.ACC claimed.3SG.def that even PV not spring.refl.3SG mikor **frisset** szedett. when fresh.ACC collected.3SG.indef *'She claimed that the spring hadn't even set in when she picked fresh ELDERFLOWERS.'*
LSF/16	A: - Azt reméli Gizi, hogy még senki nem érkezik meg, mikor fehér kalapot varrunk neki. *'Gizi hopes that nobody arrives when we are sewing a white hat for her.'* B: - **SZOKNYÁT** reméli hogy még senki nem érkezik meg skirt.ACC hope.3SG.def that yet nobody not arrive.3SG PV mikor **fehéret** varrunk neki. when white.ACC sew.1PL Dat.3SG *'She hopes that nobody arrives when we are sewing a white SKIRT for her.'*
LSF/15	A: - Azt mesélte Csaba, hogy még senki nem írta alá a szerződést, mikor erős vaslemezt gyártottak. *'Csaba said that nobody had signed the contract when they were producing strong iron sheets.'* B: - **DRÓTOT** mesélte hogy még senki nem írta wire.ACC said.3SG.def that yet nobody not signed.3SG.def alá a szerződést mikor **erőset** gyártottak. PV the contract.ACC when strong.ACC produced3PL.indef *'He said that nobody had signed the contract when they were producing strong WIRES.'*
LSF/9	A: - Azt mondta Tibi, hogy még nem kelt fel a nap, mikor talált egy zöld gyíkot. *'Tibi said that the sun hadn't risen when he found a green lizard.'* B: - **BÉKÁT** mondta hogy még nem kelt fel a nap mikor **zöldet** talált. frog.ACC said.3SG.def that yet not rose PV the sun when green.ACC found.3SG.indef *'He said that the sun hadn't risen when he found a green FROG.'*
LSF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Feri, hogy már leesett a hó, mikor a lányok piros szegfűt kértek. *'Feri heard that it had started snowing when the girls asked for red carnations.'* B: - **RÓZSÁT** hallotta hogy már leesett a hó mikor rose.ACC heard.3SG.def that already PV.fell.3SG the show when **pirosat** kértek. red.ACC asked.3PL.indef *'He heard that it had started snowing when they asked for red ROSES.'*

LSF/11	A: - Erzsi néni azt ígérte, hogy még véget sem ér a tél, mikor olcsó mogyorót ad. *'Aunt Erzsi promised that the winter wouldn't have ended when she would give us cheap hazelnuts.'* B: **DIÓT** ígérte hogy még véget sem ér a tél walnut.ACC promised.3SG.def that yet end.ACC not.even reach.3SG the winter mikor **olcsót** ad. when cheap.ACC give.3SG.indef *'She promised that the winter wouldn't have ended when she would give us cheap WALNUTS.'*
LSF/12	A: - Misi azt hitte, hogy már véget ért a vihar, mikor látott egy sánta sast. *'Misi believed that the storm had ended when he saw a lame eagle.'* B: - **VARJÚT** hitte hogy már véget ért a vihar mikor crow.ACC believed.3SG.def that already end.ACC reached.3SG the storm when **sántát** látott. lame.ACC saw.3SG.indef *'He believed that the storm had ended when he saw a lame CROW.'*

LUF

Constant phrases in the lexical variants

Number	Constant phrase
LUF/1	sűrű krémet kent a sebre thick cream smeared.3SG.indef the wound.ONTO *'(s)he has smeared some thick cream on the wound'*
LUF/2	hosszú függönyt loptak a szobából long curtain.ACC stole.3PL.indef the room.FROM *'they have stolen a long curtain from the room'*
LUF/3	meleg teát osztogatnak a téren warm tea.ACC distribute.3PL.indef the square.ON *'they (will) distribute warm tea on the square'*
LUF/4	bolond kutyát hallott este lunatic dog.ACC heard.3SG.indef at.night *'(s)he has heard a lunatic dog at night'*
LUF/5	kemény magot rág reggeli közben hard seed.ACC chew.3SG.indef breakfast during *'(s)he has been chewing a hard seed during breakfast'*
LUF/6	sárga banánt festett rajzórán

	yellow banana.ACC painted.3SG.indef drawing.class.ON *'(s)he painted a yellow banana in the drawing class'*
LUF/7	puha plédet szereztek estére soft blanket.ACC got.3PL.indef evening.for *'they got a soft blanket for the evening'*
LUF/8	halk motort visznek a kirándulásra silent motorbike.ACC take.3PL.indef the excursion.ONTO *'they (will) take a silent motorbike on the excursion'*
LUF/9	bordó cipőt tett a szekrénybe claret shoe.ACC put.Past.3SG.indef the wardrobe.INTO *'(s)he has put (a pair of) claret shoes in the wardrobe'*
LUF/10	mély árkot ásott tegnap deep ditch.ACC dug.3SG yesterday *'(s)he has dug a deep ditch yesterday'*
LUF/11	édes bort tölt a poharunkba sweet wine.ACC pour.3SG.indef the glass.Poss.1PL.INTO *'(s)he (will) fill our glasses with sweet wine'*
LUF/12	régi tévét raktak a kocsiba old TV.ACC put.3PL.indef the car.INTO *'they have put an old TV in the car'*
LUF/13	nehéz dobozt vittek a pincébe heavy box.ACC carried.3PL the cellar.INTO *'they carried a heavy box to the cellar'*
LUF/14	öreg cápát árulnak a piacon old shark.ACC sell.3PL.indef the market.ON *'they sell old shark on the market'*
LUF/15	tiszta tányért tart a fiókban clean plate.ACC keep.3SG.indef the drawer.IN *'(s)he keeps clean plates in the drawer'*
LUF/16	rövid verset mondanak az ünnepségen short poem.ACC recite.3PL.indef the ceremony.ON *'they recite a short poem at the ceremony'*

Table 4. Constant phrases in the lexical variants of LUF in questionnaire 2

	LUF
	Construction type: BASELINE mLUF
	Lexical variant
LUF/1	A: - Azt mondta Kinga, hogy sűrű folyadékot kent a sebre. *'Kinga said that she had smeared (some) thick liquid on the wound.'* B: - **Sűrű KRÉMET** mondott hogy kent a sebre. thick cream.ACC said.3SG.indef that smeared.3SG.indef the wound.ONTO '*She said that she had smeared (some) thick CREAM on the wound.'*
LUF/2	A: - Azt hallotta Zsuzsi, hogy egy hosszú szőnyeget loptak a szobából. *'Zsuzsi heard that they had stolen a long carpet from the room.'* B: - **Hosszú FÜGGÖNYT** hallott hogy loptak a szobából. long curtain.ACC heard.3SG.indef that stole.3PL.indef the room.FROM *'She heard that they had stolen a long CURTAIN from the room.'*
LUF/3	A: - Azt ígérte a polgármester, hogy meleg levest osztogatnak a téren. *'The mayor promised that they would distribute warm soap on the square.'* B: - **Meleg TEÁT** ígért hogy osztogatnak a téren. warm tea.ACC promised.3SG.indef that distribute.3PL.indef the square.ON *'He promised that they would distribute warm TEA on the square.'*
LUF/4	A: - Azt hitte Gergő, hogy egy bolond szomszédot hallott este. *'Gergő believed that he had heard a lunatic neighbour at night.'* B: - **Bolond KUTYÁT** hitt hogy hallott este. lunatic dog.ACC believed.3SG.indef that heard.3SG.indef night *'He believed that he had heard a lunatic DOG at night.'*
LUF/5	A: - Tibi azt gondolta, hogy kemény dióhéjat rág reggeli közben. *'Tibi thought that he was chewing a hard nutshell during breakfast.'* B: - **Kemény MAGOT** gondolt hogy rág reggeli közben. hard seed.ACC thought.3SG.indef that chew.3SG breakfast during *'He thought that he was chewing a hard SEED during breakfast.'*
LUF/6	A: - Bence azt állította, hogy sárga holdat festett rajzórán. *'Bence claimed that he had painted a yellow moon in the drawing class.'* B:- **Sárga BANÁNT** állított hogy festett rajzórán. yellow banana.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that painted.3SG.indef drawing.class.ON *'He claimed that he had painted a yellow BANANA in the drawing class.'*
LUF/7	A: - Orsi azt mesélte, hogy szereztek egy puha párnát estére. *'Orsi said that they had got a soft pillow for the evening.'*

	B: - **Puha** **PLÉDET** mesélt hogy szereztek estére. soft blanket.ACC said.3SG.indef that got.3PL.indef evening.ONTO *'She said that they had got a soft BLANKET for the evening.'*
LUF/8	A: - Azt reméli Szilvi, hogy Robiék halk kocsit visznek a kirándulásra. *'Szilvi hopes that Robi's will take a silent car on the excursion.'* B: - **Halk** **MOTORT** remél hogy visznek a kirándulásra. silent motorbike.ACC hope.3SG.indef that bring.3PL.indef the excursion.ONTO *'She hopes that Robi's will take a silent MOTORBIKE on the excursion.'*
LUF/9	A: - Azt mondta Réka, hogy egy bordó csizmát tett a szekrénybe. *'Réka said that she had put a pair of claret boots in the wardrobe.'* B: - **Bordó** **CIPŐT** mondott hogy tett a szekrénybe. claret shoe.ACC said.3SG.indef that put.3SG.indef the wardrobe.INTO *'She said that she had put (a pair of) claret SHOES in the wardrobe.'*
LUF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Zsolt, hogy Laci egy mély gödröt ásott tegnap. *'Zsolt heard that Laci had dug a deep hole yesterday.'* B: - **Mély** **ÁRKOT** hallott hogy ásott tegnap. deep ditch.ACC heard.3SG.indef that dug.3SG.indef yesterday *'He (Zsolt) heard that he (Laci) had dug a deep DITCH yesterday.'*
LUF/11	A: - Azt ígérte Gyuri, hogy édes likőrt tölt a poharunkba. *'Gyuri promised that he would fill our glasses with sweet liqueur.'* B: - **Édes** **BORT** ígért hogy tölt a poharunkba. sweet wine.ACC promised.3SG.indef that pours.3SG.indef the glass.1PL.Poss.INTO *'He promised that he would fill our glasses with sweet WINE.'*
LUF/12	A: - Azt hitte Tamás, hogy egy régi lemezjátszót raktak a kocsiba. *'Tamás believed that they had put an old record player in the car.'* B: - **Régi** **TÉVÉT** hitt hogy raktak a kocsiba. Old TV.ACC believed.3SG.indef that put.3PL.indef the car.INTO *'He believed that they had put an old TV in the car.'*
LUF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Tünde, hogy Pistáék egy nehéz bőröndöt vittek a pincébe. *'Tünde thought that Pista's were carrying a heavy suitcase to the cellar.'* B: - **Nehéz** **DOBOZT** gondolt hogy vittek a pincébe. heavy box.ACC thought.3SG.indef that carried.3PL.indef the cellar.INTO *'She thought that they were carrying a heavy BOX to the cellar.'*
LUF/14	A: - Azt állította Bandi, hogy öreg halat árulnak a piacon.

	'Bandi claimed that they were selling old fish on the market.' B: - **Öreg CÁPÁT** állított hogy árulnak a piacon. old shark.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that sell.3PL.indef the market.ON *'He claimed that they were selling old SHARK on the market.'*
LUF/15	A: - Azt mondta Gabi, hogy tiszta poharat tart a fiókban. *'Gabi said that she kept clean glasses in the drawer.'* B: - **Tiszta TÁNYÉRT** mondott hogy tart a fiókban. clean plate.ACC said.3SG.indef that keep.3SG.indef the drawer.IN *'She said that she kept clean PLATES in the drawer.'*
LUF/16	A: - Peti azt remélte, hogy már elindulnak az osztálytársai, mikor rövid beszédet mondanak az ünnepségen. *'Peti has hoped that they will be holding a short speech at the ceremony.'* B: - **Rövid VERSET** remélt hogy mondanak az ünnepségen. short poem.ACC hoped.3SG.indef that recite.3PL.indef the ceremony.ON *'He has hoped that they will be reciting a short POEM at the ceremony.'*

	LUF
	Construction type: BASELINE eLUF
	Lexical variant
LUF/9	A: - Azt mondta Réka, hogy egy bordó csizmát tett a szekrénybe. *'Réka said that she had put a pair of claret boots in the wardrobe.'* B: - **Bordó CIPŐT** mondta hogy tett a szekrénybe. claret shoe.ACC said.3SG.def that put.3SG.indef the wardrobe.INTO *'She said that she had put (a pair of) claret SHOES in the wardrobe.'*
LUF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Zsolt, hogy Laci egy mély gödröt ásott tegnap. *'Zsolt heard that Laci had dug a deep hole yesterday.'* B: - **Mély ÁRKOT** hallotta hogy ásott tegnap. deep ditch.ACC heard.3SG.def that dug.3SG.indef yesterday *'He (Zsolt) heard that he (Laci) had dug a deep DITCH yesterday.'*
LUF/11	A: - Azt ígérte Gyuri, hogy édes likőrt tölt a poharunkba. *'Gyuri promised that he would fill our glasses with sweet liqueur.'* B: - **Édes BORT** ígérte hogy tölt a poharunkba. sweet wine.ACC promised.3SG.def that pours.3SG.indef the glass.1PL.Poss.INTO *'He promised that he would fill our glasses with sweet WINE.'*
LUF/12	A: - Azt hitte Tamás, hogy egy régi lemezjátszót raktak a kocsiba. *'Tamás believed that they had put an old record player in the car.'* B: - **Régi TÉVÉT** hitte hogy raktak a kocsiba. Old TV.ACC believed.3SG.def that put.3PL.indef the car.INTO *'He believed that they had put an old TV in the car.'*

LUF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Tünde, hogy Pistáék egy nehéz bőröndöt vittek a pincébe. *'Tünde thought that Pista's were carrying a heavy suitcase to the cellar.'* B: - **Nehéz DOBOZT** gondolta hogy vittek a pincébe. heavy box.ACC thought.3SG.def that carried.3PL.indef the cellar.INTO *'She thought that they were carrying a heavy BOX to the cellar.'*
LUF/14	A: - Azt állította Bandi, hogy öreg halat árulnak a piacon. *'Bandi claimed that they were selling old fish on the market.'* B: - **Öreg CÁPÁT** állította hogy árulnak a piacon. old shark.ACC claimed.3SG.def that sell.3PL.indef the market.ON *'He claimed that they were selling old SHARK on the market.'*
LUF/15	A: - Azt mondta Gabi, hogy tiszta poharat tart a fiókban. *'Gabi said that she kept clean glasses in the drawer.'* B: - **Tiszta TÁNYÉRT** mondta hogy tart a fiókban. clean plate.ACC said.3SG.def that keep.3SG.indef the drawer.IN *'She said that she kept clean PLATES in the drawer.'*
LUF/16	A: - Peti azt remélte, hogy már elindulnak az osztálytársai, mikor rövid beszédet mondanak az ünnepségen. *'Peti has hoped that they will be holding a short speech at the ceremony.'* B: - **Rövid VERSET** remélte hogy mondanak az ünnepségen. short poem.ACC hoped.3SG.def that recite.3PL.indef the ceremony.ON *'He has hoped that they will be reciting a short POEM at the ceremony.'*
LUF/1	A: - Azt mondta Kinga, hogy sűrű folyadékot kent a sebre. *'Kinga said that she had smeared (some) thick liquid on the wound.'* B: - **Sűrű KRÉMET** mondta hogy kent a sebre. thick cream.ACC said.3SG.def that smeared.3SG.indef the wound.ONTO '*She said that she had smeared (some) thick CREAM on the wound.'*
LUF/2	A: - Azt hallotta Zsuzsi, hogy egy hosszú szőnyeget loptak a szobából. *'Zsuzsi heard that they had stolen a long carpet from the room.'* B: - **Hosszú FÜGGÖNYT** hallotta hogy loptak a szobából. long curtain.ACC heard.3SG.def that stole.3PL.indef the room.FROM *'She heard that they had stolen a long CURTAIN from the room.'*
LUF/3	A: - Azt ígérte a polgármester, hogy meleg levest osztogatnak a téren. *'The mayor promised that they would distribute warm soap on the square.'* B: - **Meleg TEÁT** ígérte hogy osztogatnak a téren. warm tea.ACC promised.3SG.def that distribute.3PL.indef the square.ON

	'He promised that they would distribute warm TEA on the square.'
LUF/4	A: - Azt hitte Gergő, hogy egy bolond szomszédot hallott este. *'Gergő believed that he had heard a lunatic neighbour at night.'* B: - **Bolond KUTYÁT** hitte hogy hallott este. lunatic dog.ACC believed.3SG.def that heard.3SG.indef night *'He believed that he had heard a lunatic DOG at night.'*
LUF/5	A: - Tibi azt gondolta, hogy kemény dióhéjat rág reggeli közben. *'Tibi thought that he was chewing a hard nutshell during breakfast.'* B: - **Kemény MAGOT** gondolta hogy rág reggeli közben. hard seed.ACC thought.3SG.def that chew.3SG breakfast during *'He thought that he was chewing a hard SEED during breakfast.'*
LUF/6	A: - Bence azt állította, hogy sárga holdat festett rajzórán. *'Bence claimed that he had painted a yellow moon in the drawing class.'* B:- **Sárga BANÁNT** állította hogy festett rajzórán. yellow banana.ACC claimed.3SG.def that painted.3SG.indef drawing.class.ON *'He claimed that he had painted a yellow BANANA in the drawing class.'*
LUF/7	A: - Orsi azt mesélte, hogy szereztek egy puha párnát estére. *'Orsi said that they had got a soft pillow for the evening.'* B: - **Puha PLÉDET** mesélte hogy szereztek estére. soft blanket.ACC said.3SG.def that got.3PL.indef evening.ONTO *'She said that they had got a soft BLANKET for the evening.'*
LUF/8	A: - Azt reméli Szilvi, hogy Robiék halk kocsit visznek a kirándulásra. *'Szilvi hopes that Robi's will take a silent car on the excursion.'* B: - **Halk MOTORT** reméli hogy visznek a kirándulásra. silent motorbike.ACC hope.3SG.def that bring.3PL.indef the excursion.ONTO *'She hopes that Robi's will take a silent MOTORBIKE on the excursion.'*

	LUF
	Construction type: ADJUNCT ISLAND mLUF
	Lexical variant
LUF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Tünde, hogy már minden gyerek elindult, mikor Pistáék egy nehéz bőröndöt vittek a pincébe. *'Tünde thought that all the children had already left when Pista's carried a heavy suitcase to the cellar.'* B: - **Nehéz DOBOZT** gondolt hogy már minden gyerek heavy box.ACC thought.3SG.indef that already every child elindult mikor vittek a pincébe.

	PV.left.3SG when carried.3PL.indef the cellar.INTO *'She thought that all the children had already left when they carried a heavy BOX to the cellar.'*
LUF/14	A: - Azt állította Bandi, hogy már majdnem mindenki befejezte a vásárlást mikor öreg halat árultak a piacon. *'Bandi claimed that almost everyone had already finished shopping when they sold old fish on the market.'* B: - **Öreg CÁPÁT** állított hogy már majdnem mindenki befejezte a vásárlást mikor árultak a piacon. old shark.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that already almost everyone PV.finished.3SG the shopping.ACC when sold.3SG.indef the market.ON *'He claimed that almost everyone had already finished shopping when they were selling old SHARK on the market.'*
LUF/15	A: - Azt mondta Gabi, hogy mindenki ideges volt, mikor tiszta poharat tartott a fiókban. *'Gabi said that everyone had been nervous when she had kept clean glasses in the drawer.'* B: - **Tiszta TÁNYÉRT** mondott hogy mindenki ideges volt mikor tartott a fiókban. clean plate.ACC said.3SG.indef that everyone nervous was when kept.3SG.indef the drawer.IN *'She said that everyone had been nervous when she had kept clean PLATES in the drawer.'*
LUF/16	A: - Peti azt remélte, hogy már elindulnak az osztálytársai, mikor rövid beszédet mondanak az ünnepségen. *'Peti has hoped that his classmates will have left when they are holding a short speech at the ceremony.'* B: - **Rövid VERSET** remélt hogy már elindulnak az osztálytársai mikor mondanak az ünnepségen. short poem.ACC hoped.3SG.indef that already PV.leave.3PL classmates.Poss.3SG when recite.3PL.indef the ceremony.ON *'He has hoped that his classmates will have left when they are reciting a short POEM at the ceremony.'*
LUF/9	A: - Azt mondta Réka, hogy már véget ért a vendégség, mikor egy bordó csizmát tett a szekrénybe. *'Réka said that the guests had already left when she put a pair of claret boots in the wardrobe.'* B: - **Bordó CIPŐT** mondott hogy már véget ért a vendégség mikor tett a szekrénybe. claret shoe.ACC said.3SG.indef that already end.ACC reached.3SG the treating when put.3SG.indef the wardrobe.INTO *'She said that the guests had already left when she put (a pair of) claret SHOES in the wardrobe.'*
LUF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Zsolt, hogy már beköszöntött a fagy, mikor Laci egy mély gödröt ásott a kertben. *'Zsolt heard that the frost had set in when Laci was digging a deep hole in the garden.'*

	B: - **Mély ÁRKOT** hallott hogy már beköszöntött a fagy mikor ásott deep ditch.ACC heard.3SG.indef that already PV.set.3SG the frost when dug.3SG.indef a kertben. the garden.IN *'He (Zsolt) heard that the frost had set in when he (Laci) was digging a deep DITCH in the garden.'*
LUF/11	A: - Azt ígérte Gyuri, hogy még el sem kezdődik a főzés, mikor édes likőrt tölt a poharunkba. *'Gyuri promised that the cooking wouldn't even have started when he would fill our glasses with sweet liqueur.'* B: - **Édes BORT** ígért hogy még el sem kezdődik a főzés mikor sweet wine.ACC promised.3SG.indef that yet PV not.even start.3SG the cooking when tölt a poharunkba. pours.3SG.indef the glass.1PL.Poss.INTO *'He promised that the cooking wouldn't even have started when he would fill our glasses with sweet WINE.'*
LUF/12	A: - Azt hitte Tamás, hogy már megkezdődött a lomtalanítás, mikor egy régi lemezjátszót raktak a kocsiba. *'Tamás believed that the bulk trash pickup had already started when they put an old record player in the car.'* B: - **Régi TÉVÉT** hitt hogy már megkezdődött a lomtalanítás mikor old TV.ACC believed.3SG.indef that already PV.started.3SG the bulk.trash.pickup when raktak a kocsiba. put.3PL.indef the car.INTO *'He believed that the bulk trash pickup had already started when they put an old TV in the car.'*
LUF/5	A: - Tibi azt gondolta, hogy már mindenki elindult, mikor kemény dióhéjat rágott reggeli közben. *'Tibi thought that everyone had already left when he was chewing a hard nutshell during breakfast.'* B: - **Kemény MAGOT** gondolt hogy már mindenki hard seed.ACC thought.3SG.indef that already everyone elindult mikor rágott reggeli közben. PV.left.3SG when chewed.3SG.indef breakfast during *'He thought that everyone had already left when he was chewing a hard SEED during breakfast.'*
LUF/6	A: - Bence azt állította, hogy már kiömlött a festék, mikor egy sárga holdat festett rajzórán. *'Bence claimed that the paint had already spilt when he was painting a yellow moon in the drawing class.'* B:- **Sárga BANÁNT** állított hogy már kiömlött a yellow banana.ACC claimed.3SG.indef that already PV.spilt.3SG the festék mikor festett rajzórán.

	paint when painted.3SG.indef drawing.class.ON *'He claimed that the paint had already spilt when he was painting a yellow BANANA in the drawing class.'*
LUF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Orsi, hogy már mindenki elaludt mikor szereztek egy puha párnát estére. *'Orsi said that everyone had already fallen asleep when they got a soft pillow for the evening.'* B: - **Puha PLÉDET** mesélt hogy már mindenki elaludt soft blanket.ACC said.3SG.indef that already everyone PV.slept.3SG mikor szereztek estére. when got.3PL.indef evening.ONTO *'She said that everyone had already fallen asleep when they got a soft BLANKET for the evening.'*
LUF/8	A: - Azt reméli Szilvi, hogy Péter megnyugszik, mikor Robiék egy halk kocsit visznek a kirándulásra. *'Szilvi hopes that Peter will get relaxed when Robi's take a silent car on the excursion.'* B: - **Halk MOTORT** remél hogy Péter megnyugszik mikor silent motorbike.ACC hope.3SG.indef that Peter get.relaxed.3SG when visznek a kirándulásra. bring.3PL.indef the excursion.ONTO *'She hopes that Peter will get relaxed when Robi's take a silent MOTORBIKE on the excursion.'*
LUF/1	A: - Azt mondta Kinga, hogy már megérkeztek a mentősök, mikor sűrű folyadékot kent a sebre. *'Kinga said that the ambulance had arrived when she was smearing (some) thick liquid on the wound.'* B: - **Sűrű KRÉMET** mondott hogy már megérkeztek a mentősök mikor thick cream.ACC said.3SG.indef that already PV.arrived.3PL the ambulance.man.PL when kent a sebre. smeared.3SG.indef the wound.ONTO '*She said that the ambulance had arrived when she was smearing (some) thick CREAM on the wound.'*
LUF/2	A: - Zsuzsi azt hallotta, hogy még el sem ment a rendőrség, mikor egy hosszú szőnyeget loptak a szobából. *'Zsuzsi heard that the police hadn't even left when they stole a long carpet from the room.'* B: - **Hosszú FÜGGÖNYT** hallott hogy loptak a szobából. long curtain.ACC heard.3SG.indef that stole.3PL.indef the room.FROM *'She heard that the police hadn't even left when they stole a long CURTAIN from the room.'*
LUF/3	A: - Azt ígérte a polgármester, hogy meleg levest osztogatnak a téren. *'The mayor promised that it wouldn't even get dark when they would distribute warm soap on the square.'*

	B: - **Meleg TEÁT** ígért hogy még be sem sötétedik mikor warm tea.ACC promised.3SG.indef that yet PV not.even get.dark,3SG when osztogatnak a téren. distribute.3PL.indef the square.ON *'He promised that it wouldn't even get dark when they would distribute warm TEA on the square.'*
LUF/4	A: - Azt hitte Gergő, hogy már elkészült a vacsora, mikor egy bolond szomszédot hallott este. *'Gergő believed that the dinner had already been prepared when he heard a lunatic neighbour at night.'* B: - **Bolond KUTYÁT** hitt hogy már elkészült a vacsora, mikor lunatic dog.ACC believed.3SG.indef that already PV.prepared.refl.3SG the dinner when hallott este. heard.3SG.indef night *'He believed that the dinner had already been prepared when he heard a lunatic DOG at night.'*

	LUF
	Construction type: ADJUNCT ISLAND eLUF
	Lexical variant
LUF/5	A: - Tibi azt gondolta, hogy már mindenki elindult, mikor kemény dióhéjat rágott reggeli közben. 'Tibi thought that everyone had already left when he was chewing a hard nutshell during breakfast.' B: - KeményMAGOT gondolta hogy már mindenki hard seed.ACC thought.3SG.def that already everyone elindult mikor rágott reggeli közben. PV.left.3SG when chewed.3SG.indef breakfast during 'He thought that everyone had already left when he was chewing a hard SEED during breakfast.'
LUF/6	A: - Bence azt állította, hogy már kiömlött a festék, mikor egy sárga holdat festett rajzórán. 'Bence claimed that the paint had already spilt when he was painting a yellow moon in the drawing class.' B:- Sárga BANÁNT állította hogy már kiömlött a yellow banana.ACC claimed.3SG.def that already PV.spilt.3SG the festék mikor festett rajzórán. paint when painted.3SG.indef drawing.class.ON 'He claimed that the paint had already spilt when he was painting a yellow BANANA in the drawing class.'
LUF/7	A: - Azt mesélte Orsi, hogy már mindenki elaludt mikor szereztek egy puha párnát estére. 'Orsi said that everyone had already fallen asleep when they got a soft pillow for the evening.' B: - Puha PLÉDET mesélte hogy már mindenki elaludt soft blanket.ACC said.3SG.def that already everyone PV.slept.3SG mikor szereztek estére. when got.3PL.indef evening.ONTO

	'She said that everyone had already fallen asleep when they got a soft BLANKET for the evening.'
LUF/8	A: - Azt reméli Szilvi, hogy Péter megnyugszik, mikor Robiék egy halk kocsit visznek a kirándulásra. 'Szilvi hopes that Peter will get relaxed when Robi's take a silent car on the excursion.' B: - Halk MOTORT reméli hogy Péter megnyugszik mikor silent motorbike.ACC hope.3SG.def that Peter get.relaxed.3SG when visznek a kirándulásra. bring.3PL.indef the excursion.ONTO 'She hopes that Peter will get relaxed when Robi's take a silent MOTORBIKE on the excursion.'
LUF/1	A: - Azt mondta Kinga, hogy már megérkeztek a mentősök, mikor sűrű folyadékot kent a sebre. *'Kinga said that the ambulance had arrived when she was smearing (some) thick liquid on the wound.'* B: - **Sűrű KRÉMET** mondta hogy már megérkeztek a mentősök mikor thick cream.ACC said.3SG.def that already PV.arrived.3PL the ambulance.man.PL when kent a sebre. smeared.3SG.indef the wound.ONTO '*She said that the ambulance had arrived when she was smearing (some) thick CREAM on the wound.'*
LUF/2	A: - Zsuzsi azt hallotta, hogy még el sem ment a rendőrség, mikor egy hosszú szőnyeget loptak a szobából. *'Zsuzsi heard that the police hadn't even left when they stole a long carpet from the room.'* B: - **Hosszú FÜGGÖNYT** hallotta hogy loptak a szobából. long curtain.ACC heard.3SG.def that stole.3PL.indef the room.FROM *'She heard that the police hadn't even left when they stole a long CURTAIN from the room.'*
LUF/3	A: - A polgármester azt ígérte, hogy még be sem sötétedik, mikor meleg levest osztogatnak a téren. B: - Meleg TEÁT ígérte hogy még be sem sötétedik mikor osztogatnak a téren. A: - Azt ígérte a polgármester, hogy meleg levest osztogatnak a téren. *'The mayor promised that it wouldn't even get dark when they would distribute warm soap on the square.'* B: - **Meleg TEÁT** ígérte hogy még be sem sötétedik mikor warm tea.ACC promised.3SG.def that yet PV not.even get.dark,3SG when osztogatnak a téren. distribute.3PL.indef the square.ON *'He promised that it wouldn't even get dark when they would distribute warm TEA on the square.'*
LUF/4	

	A: - Gergő azt hitte, hogy már elkészült a vacsora, mikor egy bolond szomszédot hallott este. *'Gergő believed that the dinner had already been prepared when he heard a lunatic neighbour at night.'* B: - **Bolond KUTYÁT** hitte hogy már elkészült a vacsora, mikor lunatic dog.ACC believed.3SG.def that already PV.prepared.refl.3SG the dinner when hallott este. heard.3SG.indef night *'He believed that the dinner had already been prepared when he heard a lunatic DOG at night.'*
LUF/13	A: - Azt gondolta Tünde, hogy már minden gyerek elindult, mikor Pistáék egy nehéz bőröndöt vittek a pincébe. *'Tünde thought that all the children had already left when Pista's carried a heavy suitcase to the cellar.'* B: - **Nehéz DOBOZT** gondolta hogy már minden gyerek heavy box.ACC thought.3SG.def that already every child elindult mikor vittek a pincébe. PV.left.3SG when carried.3PL.indef the cellar.INTO *'She thought that all the children had already left when they carried a heavy BOX to the cellar.'*
LUF/14	A: - Azt állította Bandi, hogy már majdnem mindenki befejezte a vásárlást mikor öreg halat árultak a piacon. *'Bandi claimed that almost everyone had already finished shopping when they sold old fish on the market.'* B: - **Öreg CÁPÁT** állította hogy már majdnem mindenki old shark.ACC claimed.3SG.def that already almost everyone befejezte a vásárlást mikor árultak a PV.finished.3SG the shopping.ACC when sold.3SG.indef the piacon. market.ON *'He claimed that almost everyone had already finished shopping when they were selling old SHARK on the market.'*
LUF/15	A: - Azt mondta Gabi, hogy mindenki ideges volt, mikor tiszta poharat tartott a fiókban. *'Gabi said that everyone had been nervous when she had kept clean glasses in the drawer.'* B: - **Tiszta TÁNYÉRT** mondta hogy mindenki ideges volt mikor tartott a fiókban. clean plate.ACC said.3SG.def that everyone nervous was when kept.3SG.indef the drawer.IN *'She said that everyone had been nervous when she had kept clean PLATES in the drawer.'*
LUF/16	A: - Peti azt remélte, hogy már elindulnak az osztálytársai, mikor rövid beszédet mondanak az ünnepségen. *'Peti has hoped that his classmates will have left when they are holding a short speech at the ceremony.'* B: - **Rövid VERSET** remélte hogy már elindulnak az the

	osztálytársai mikor short poem.ACC hoped.3SG.def that already PV.leave.3PL classmates.Poss.3SG when mondanak az ünnepségen. recite.3PL.indef the ceremony.ON *'He has hoped that his classmates will have left when they are reciting a short POEM at the ceremony.'*
LUF/9	A: - Azt mondta Réka, hogy már véget ért a vendégség, mikor egy bordó csizmát tett a szekrénybe. *'Réka said that the guests had already left when she put a pair of claret boots in the wardrobe.'* B: - **Bordó CIPŐT** mondta hogy már véget ért a vendégség mikor claret shoe.ACC said.3SG.def that already end.ACC reached.3SG the treating when tett a szekrénybe. put.3SG.indef the wardrobe.INTO *'She said that the guests had already left when she put (a pair of) claret SHOES in the wardrobe.'*
LUF/10	A: - Azt hallotta Zsolt, hogy már beköszöntött a fagy, mikor Laci egy mély gödröt ásott a kertben. *'Zsolt heard that the frost had set in when Laci was digging a deep hole in the garden.'* B: - **Mély ÁRKOT** hallotta hogy már beköszöntött a fagy mikor ásott deep ditch.ACC heard.3SG.def that already PV.set.3SG the frost when dug.3SG.indef a kertben. the garden.IN *'He (Zsolt) heard that the frost had set in when he (Laci) was digging a deep DITCH in the garden.'*
LUF/11	A: - Azt ígérte Gyuri, hogy még el sem kezdődik a főzés, mikor édes likőrt tölt a poharunkba. *'Gyuri promised that the cooking wouldn't even have started when he would fill our glasses with sweet liqueur.'* B: - **Édes BORT** ígérte hogy még el sem kezdődik a főzés mikor sweet wine.ACC promised.3SG.def that yet PV not.even start.3SG the cooking when tölt a poharunkba. pours.3SG.indef the glass.1PL.Poss.INTO *'He promised that the cooking wouldn't even have started when he would fill our glasses with sweet WINE.'*
LUF/12	A: - Azt hitte Tamás, hogy már megkezdődött a lomtalanítás, mikor egy régi lemezjátszót raktak a kocsiba. *'Tamás believed that the bulk trash pickup had already started when they put an old record player in the car.'* B: - **Régi TÉVÉT** hitte hogy már megkezdődött a lomtalanítás mikor old TV.ACC believed.3SG.def that already PV.started.3SG the bulk.trash.pickup when raktak a kocsiba.

	put.3PL.indef the car.INTO *'He believed that the bulk trash pickup had already started when they put an old TV in the car.'*

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Samenvatting

Langeafstandsdependenties met gesplitste focussen in het Hongaars: analyse en variatie

Langeafstandsdependenties met een niet-gesplitste focusconstituent in het Hongaars (LUF, cf. (1)) hebben veel aandacht gekregen in de generatieve literatuur van de voorbije decennia.

(1) **ÚJ** **AUTÓT$_{\text{Focus}}$** mondott hogy vett.
nieuw auto.ACC zei.3SG dat kocht.3SG
'Ze zei dat ze een NIEUWE AUTO had gekocht.'

In recent onderzoek (Gervain 2007, Den Dikken 2010) wordt beargumenteerd dat de focusconstructie in (1) niet alleen afgeleid kan worden door verplaatsing, maar ook door de beklemtoonde NP in de hoofdzin te basisgenereren. Bovendien wordt door deze auteurs gesteld dat er twee groepen sprekers bestaan, waarbij de ene een verplaatsingsderivatie accepteert en de andere niet.
Mijn onderzoek neemt een verzameling van verwante data als uitgangspunt, namelijk langeafstandsdependenties met een gesplitste focusconstituent (LSF, cf. (2)), en beargumenteert dat dergelijke structuren op twee manieren kunnen worden afgeleid: één derivatie waarbij het gefocuste deel van de NP langafstandsverplaatsing ondergaat, en één waarbij dit niet het geval is.

(2) **AUTÓT$_{\text{Focus}}$** mondott hogy **újat** vett.
auto.ACC zei.3SG dat nieuw.ACC kocht.3SG
'Ze zei dat ze een nieuwe AUTO had gekocht.'

De centrale data komen van twee enquêtes die elk door meer dan 80 moedertaalsprekers ingevuld werden. De resultaten tonen dat er inderdaad sprekervariatie is voor de verschillende types van deze constructie, maar dat er geen consistente sprekersgroepen onderscheiden kunnen worden. Mijn onderzoek analyseert dit feit door te stellen dat beide derivationele strategieën (zowel de verplaatsingsderivatie als de derivatie met basisgeneratie in de hoofdzin) aanwezig zijn in de grammatica van alle moedertaalsprekers. Op die manier wordt verklaard waarom sommige types van de structuur gevoelig zijn aan beperkingen op verplaatsing terwijl andere dat niet zijn.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding op enkele basisconcepten rond LSF en de hoofdzaken die in de context van lange focus constructies zullen besproken worden.
Hoofdstuk 2 presenteert een beginnend overzicht op de structuur van een hoofdzin in het Hongaars. Het verschaft ook inzicht in drie zaken die in latere hoofdstukken terugkomen, namelijk de structuur van de nominale groep, congruentie van het object met definietheid en de structuur van presentatieve constructies (EA, cf. (3) in het Hongaars.

(3) Azt mondta Mari, hogy fekete macskát látott.
expl.ACC zei.3SG Marie dat zwart kat.ACC zag.3SG
'Marie zei dat ze een zwarte kat gezien had.'

Hoofdstuk 3 bediscussieert gesplitste nominale constructies, waaronder LSF. Dit hoofdstuk plaatst LSF binnen een groep van gerelateerde structuren die allen door de aanwezigheid van een gesplitste nominale groep gedefinieerd wordt (namelijk gesplitste topicalisatie en focalisatie op korte en lange afstand).
Hoofdstuk 4 vergelijkt LSF met de meest verwante constructie, LUF, en vergelijkt de syntactische eigenschappen van LSF en LUF op systematische wijze. Het hoofdstuk besluit dat LSF en LUF in twee zelfde types voorkomen en dat deze types dezelfde syntactische eigenschappen vertonen.
Hoofdstuk 5 bespreekt enkele van de meest invloedrijke analyses van LUF. Daartoe behoren verplaatsting over lange afstand, basisgeneratie en zogenaamde dubbele (dwz. verplaatsing over lange afstand en basisgeneratie) analyses.
Hoofdstuk 6 verschaft een inleiding op enkele noodzakelijke voorwaarden voor de analyse en schetst de analyse van LSF op basis van de data die in Hoofdstuk 4 worden aangebracht. Ik betoog dat de onderliggende structur van lange focusconstructies, namelijk EA, in twee types voorkomt: in één type wordt het expletief gebasisgenereerd in de hoofdzin, in het andere type in de ingebedde zin. Ik trek een parallel tussen de basisgeneratieplek in EA en in LSF. Op basis daarvan betoog ik dat LSF opgesplitst kan worden in een basisgeneratietype en in een verplaatsingstype.
In Hoofdstuk 7 breng ik verslag uit over de bevindingen van twee enquêtes. Het hoofddoel van beide enquêtes was de voorbereidende analyse besproken in hoofdstuk 6 te toetsen.
Hoofdstuk 8 voorziet een gedetailleerde analyse van zowel de basisgeneratieanalyse en de verplaatsingsanalyse van LSF. Ik betoog dat het belangrijkste syntactische verschil tussen het LSF-type met basisgeneratie en verplaatstsing kan gereduceerd worden tot de twee mogelijke basisgeneratieplekken van het zinsexpletief dat altijd aanwezig is in de structuur. Ik toon aan dat deze analyse ook van toepassing is op LUF, met als enige verschil dat in LUF een volledige NP verplaatst wordt van de ingebedde zin naar de focuspositie van de hoofdzin.
In Hoofdstuk 9 vat ik de hoofdstellingen van deze thesis samen en doe ik enkele suggesties voor verder onderzoek.